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Conference for Security and Cooperation Continues

Poland's Olechowski Attends

LD3106230589 Warsaw PAP in English 2138 GMT 31 May 89

[By PAP Correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, May 31—Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski who is in Paris in connection with the ongoing Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe on human rights met with his French counterpart Roland Dumas here today. The two discussed preparations for President Francois Mitterrand's visit to Poland in June. Olechowski and Dumas discussed mainly economic as well as financial-and-credit problems.

Roland Dumas told Tadeusz Olechowski that the president would be accompanied by several ministers. During their visit they will sign an agreement on cooperation with Poland. The two ministers made it explicit that the visit by the head of France to Poland would have particular meaning for further development of bilateral relations and all-European cooperation.

Tadeusz Olechowski also met with the Vatican's secretary of the council for the public affairs of the church Angelo Sodano. The sides discussed matters pertaining to the agreement between Poland and the holy see under preparation now.

The Polish minister also held talks with Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg. The two positively assessed the current state of bilateral cooperation and were at one to point out the usefulness of its further development. Thorvald Stoltenberg, who is now the chairman of the committee of ministers of the Council for Europe, stressed with satisfaction the organization's more intensive contacts with countries of Eastern and Central Europe, and particularly Poland.

On Wednesday, the Paris session of the conference for CSCE on human rights continued its debates. The session held in the main hall of Sorbonne was chaired by the head of the Polish delegation, the director of the department of press and information of the foreign ministry, Stefan Staniszewski. Entrusting the chairmanship of the debates to Poland was the sign of appreciation for the policy line of the Polish Government on human rights.

Olechowski Addresses Session

AU0506165189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 May 89 p 11

[Speech by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski at the CSCE session in Paris on 30 May]

[Text] Mr Chairman! I join those who have expressed their appreciation of and thanks to the organizers of this conference. The French Government and Paris authorities have provided not only excellent working condition, but also a generally felt hospitality and cordial atmosphere.

I am pleased that the first session of the conference on the subject of the human dimension of CSCE is taking place in Paris, the cradle of European traditions of the battle for human rights, the place where the Declaration of Human and Citizens Rights was created 200 years ago.

We are convinced that these progressive traditions of the French capital will favorably affect the climate, course, and results of the conference.

Mr Chairman! On behalf of Poland, I wish to express my pleasure with the fact that the human dimension of the CSCE has assumed higher status in the process that commenced in Helsinki. This is an important joint achievement. We expect the Paris conference to increase the effectiveness of human rights.

The human dimension of CSCE is one of the main currents of the changes occurring in individual countries and in East-West relations. These processes coincide with the changes in Poland. On an international scale, the positive changes to and clear improvement in East-West relations constitutes evidence of the success of the new thinking, and is a sign of a growing conviction in the world that no country, not even the most powerful one, can face the challenge of today on its own. Only together can we achieve a change for the better in mutual relations, eliminate the threat of war and use of military strength, protect our natural environment, and cooperate in eradicating the plagues which torment humanity.

Recognizing the priority of human values in international relations means, in practice, restoring basic human rights and liberties and according them priority. With the conclusion of the CSCE Final Act, the observance of these rights and liberties became an integral component of international security. In Helsinki, all the countries represented in this hall recognized, within the framework of the Seventh Principle, the "universal significance of fundamental human rights and liberties, a respect for which is an important factor of peace, justice, and prosperity, essential in order to safeguard the development of cooperation and friendship between the signatory countries and between all countries as a whole."

The transfer from a period of confrontation to a new era of detente and cooperation has resulted in the sphere of human rights losing many of its ideological aspects and becoming a platform of cooperation among our countries and an important feature in building European unity. We consider the Helsinki process, of which our conference is part, as a place to build European unity.

Mr Chairman! We have come to Paris at a time of great change in Poland, involving a consolidation of comprehensive human rights and the creation of effective means of implementing civil liberties. These are connected with the human dimension of the Helsinki process, though their roots stem from our traditions and correspond to the needs and aspirations of our people. We see the bold

and thorough economic and political changes as a great opportunity to reestablish our Republic's position, on the basis of social justice, democracy, and a guaranteed respect for human rights.

We have accepted that a coexistence between different political ideas and options, reflecting the pluralism of our society, will encourage an increase in the nation's strength. At the same time, we perceive the need for a consensus and joint activity on implementing those objectives that are supreme to all people. These objectives include man's right to live in peace and the shaping of conditions for the individual's spiritual and material advancement.

In fact, these principles are common to all CSCE countries. By removing the anachronistic vestiges of the closed society concept, we are encouraging contacts and national rapprochement between the two halves of a divided Europe. In our domestic and foreign policy, especially in our CSCE policy, we are trying to combine an open approach toward the solving of joint problems with a conservation of national identity.

The democratic changes in Poland are an irreversible process, though they are not and will not be free of difficulties. At the "roundtable," we agreed to act with boldness and determination, without causing danger and instability in Poland and Europe.

In this process, we will avail ourselves of the joint values and experience of the East and West. This is the democratic and humanitarian heritage of ancient Greece and the Renaissance, involving the Roman tradition of a state based on law, and our own ethics of Christianity and socialism. However, just like other European countries, Poland bases itself mainly on its own traditions, old and new. The old traditions reach back as far as the Krakow statutes of 1433, which began with the words "neminem captivabimus nisi iure victum" (no one will be imprisoned without a legal court verdict), and to the Constitution of 3 May 1791, the first European constitution to be inspired by the ideals of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.

The new traditions consist of the achievements accumulated since World War I—the contribution of socialist ideals and the traditions of the workers movement and other democratic social movements. We will guard our identity and expand it, taking into account universal norms and human rights contained in the UN and CSCE systems.

During these talks, the Polish delegation will provide more information on the changes in Poland, which are connected with the agenda of this conference. Right now, all I will do is remind you that elections to both chambers of a new parliament are taking place in Poland on 4 June. They will be held on the basis of new election rules that are part of the "roundtable" accords. The Polish reforms should culminate in a new constitution, which will perpetuate and guarantee the democratic political and economic changes in Poland and socialist parliamentary democracy, and will raise the effectiveness of the observance of civil rights and liberties in Poland. In Poland we are commencing a new, difficult stage of restructuring the political and economic system. All of Polish society's hopes are vested in it.

We expect the new order being established in Poland to meet not only with applause, but also with deeper understanding and, even more important, support. We are taking practical steps to expand comprehensive international cooperation, for we remember that human rights consist not only of civil liberties, but also social, cultural, and, especially, economic rights.

The Polish changes are consolidating the structure of East-West relations and facilitating mutual understanding. We are acting in the conviction that the outside world has much to offer Poland, and that Poland has much to offer the world.

Mr Chairman! The Paris conference is the right place to underline the importance which the Polish Government attaches not only to the CSCE human rights decisions, but also to the other instruments and institutions that exist to protect human rights.

We will reach boldly to the highest standards in this sphere. We are party to several dozen multilateral conventions on this topic. We intend to sign the few conventions and other international legal instruments on human rights and humanitarian affairs which Poland has not yet signed. The first instrument we will sign is the Optional Protocol to the Pact on Civil and Political Rights.

In accordance with Wojciech Jaruzelski's idea of according the Council of Europe a proper dimension, we have paid closer attention to this organization's achievements in the sphere of human rights. On our part, we see no obstacles to our joining the European Human Rights Convention at the right time. We welcome the signs that this organization is casting a glance at the eastern portion of our continent.

We have revised our attitude toward social control over the implementation of human rights on a domestic and international level. We are conducting dialogue with social control organizations and taking advantage of it for the benefit of man. A Social Human Rights Committee has been formed in Poland, and there are other similar groups as well. The Helsinki International Federation of Human Rights held a meeting in Warsaw in April. Its representatives were able to meet and hold talks with the civic ombudsman and with representatives of the government and society.

Therefore, we are fully open to broad dialogue and far-reaching cooperation in this sphere, without ideological or other hesitation.

Mr Chairman! The Polish delegation's chief objective in Paris is to act for the sake of human rights and establish cooperation in this sphere, for we believe that a respect for the provisions of the CSCE and other adopted international commitments, whether they concern human rights or not, is a cornerstone of political stabilization in Europe. At the same time, a strengthening of this cornerstone permits a rapprochement between the two parts of Europe.

The CSCE process is encouraging the emergence in the East and in the West of similar patterns of conduct in the sphere of human rights, at the same time as which the identity and specific characteristics of each country and each country's political differences are respected.

The adoption of common CSCE principles and norms should lead to the establishment of similar criteria for implementing human rights in each country. Such a rapprochement will strengthen our unity.

However, this process cannot occur in isolation. It must proceed at the same time as the remaining elements of the structure of European security and cooperation, which we have all built together with such an effort. Even though they are very important, the political-military and human dimensions of the CSCE are not enough. In addition, it is necessary to expand economic and scientific cooperation. A freer flow of technology and a joint solving of economic problems are required.

We realize that human rights and their implementation still involve difficult and even controversial problems. In Paris we should concentrate on consolidating what we have already gained.

Mr Chairman! When we adopted in Vienna an agreement on the mechanism of cooperation and mutual information on the subject of the human dimension of CSCE, we assumed it would be primarily a platform for seeking a common denominator for implementing human rights; a platform of cooperation. We believe that this mechanism may and should be used not only in case of doubt about the implementation of human rights, but also to gain knowledge about the conditions and traditions of these rights and learn about the experience of other countries in this sphere. We believe this mechanism will prove itself in practice as an essential and effective instrument.

For Poland, in the heart of Europe, interpersonal contacts are particularly important. We are pleased by the progress in this sphere, but at the same time we are dismayed by the visa difficulties experienced by our citizens, improper treatment accorded to them, and so on. What this means is that Western Europe is?opening itself to us in theory but shutting itself in practice. These are serious matters, and a suitable amount of attention should be devoted to them.

Poland is ready for real, constructive cooperation. We are ready to adopt and employ good remarks and suggestions, made in good faith. We do not pretend to be infallible, and we do not wish to impose our patterns of conduct on anyone else.

We expect the same from others. For we are taking part in this conference on the principle of equality. We must all make sure that differences of opinion do not lead to mutual accusations, but to a common language.

On our part, we will also use the right to voice criticism wherever we see such a need, especially when our citizens are openly discriminated against by our partners, which, unfortunately, has been happening even since the adoption of the Vienna document. We trust that these are just temporary troubles that can be overcome on the basis of mutual understanding, taking into account national interests and the supremacy of joint intentions.

Mr Chairman! I think the time is ripe to discuss human rights and the human dimension of CSCE in a normal tone, without emotion, and in a spirit of collaboration, not confrontation. I also think no one will feel offended if I say that no country represented in this hall today is perfect, and no country has solved all the problems connected with implementing all human rights and basic liberties. Therefore, there is a constant need to improve the legislation, rules, and institutions pertaining to this subject-matter.

In the sphere of human rights, there are common problems which transcend political borders. They involve the coordination of individual and collective human rights, and the reconciliation of the freedom of the individual and civil liberties on the one hand with equality, social justice and security on the other.

The experience of the latest years shows that there is a close interdependence between, on the one hand, the climate of detente and cooperation in international relations, and, on the other hand, an expansion of liberties and contacts with all our states. By strengthening confidence and security, we are creating better conditions for respecting human rights. By implementing our commitments, we are helping to build mutual confidence.

Thank you for your attention.

Hungary's Horn Speaks

LD3105173789 Budapest MTI in English 1513 GMT 31 May 89

[Text] Paris, May 31 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn contributed to the first Paris session of the CSCE conference on human dimensions on Wednesday.

In the introductory part of his speech, Mr Horn recalled the great French revolution and its role in declaring human rights. He emphasized that Hungary had suffered a great deal in both world wars and was still enduring the grave territorial, ethnic, economic and social consequences of the conflicts. The country can therefore express with great moral emphasis that observance of human rights and the removal of obstacles to human relations are indispensable conditions of peaceful conditions and further advances in security and cooperation in Europe.

Although the human rights and humanitarian issues are integral parts of the CSCE process, some countries fail to observe such obligations. However, it is to be recognized that national and international security can only be guaranteed reassuringly if all components of security, including human rights and humanitarian issues, are considered. The fact that the enforcement of human rights is a task of the given country does not mean that it would be its exclusive internal affair. The community of nations have the right to ask the various countries to give an account how they are fulfilling their international legal and political obligations. In the course of the free choice of system and law-making, laws, practice and policy of states have to comply with international obligations.

Hungary is open to any eventual criticism related to its human rights practice and does not regard it as interference in its internal affais. It recognizes the right and even obligation of the participating states to contribute to increasing the authenticity of the CSCE process, rejects the theory of selective implementation, and takes a stand against the violation of agreements. In its foreign policy activity, Hungary seeks to assert its principled standpoint that it is entitled and obliged to take a stand at international forums on human rights and humanitarian affairs.

Mr Horn called for efforts to achieve that questions relating to the human dimensions be handled according to regulations which are in compliance with international commitments and accessible to all.

The minister proposed the setting up of on-site observation and fact-finding groups and the appointment of rapporteurs, and urged a headway in such areas as the protection of personal data, guaranteeing of privacy, enforcement of the right to the freedom of speech and peaceful assembly, ensuring conditions for the smooth operation of foreign missions and removing obstacles in the way of personal contacts with foreign citizens.

To shape relations with citizens in a modern, European civilized manner is a continuous task for every government. The more the common criteria of this relationship, the closer we come to the creation of a common European legal order and the elimination of European dividedness.

Fischer Statement on Human Rights

AU0206155589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 May 89 p 3

[Statement by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at the conference on the human dimension to the CSCE process in Paris on 30 May: "The Right to Live in Peace Is and Remains the First Human Right"]

[Text] Mr President!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is the third time this year that CSCE foreign ministers meet to discuss matters that concern the peoples.

In January, President Francois Mitterrand opened the conference on a ban on chemical weapons here in Paris. Today France hosts the deliberations on the "human dimension to the CSCE process." Both events are taking place at a place and at a time when mankind commemorates the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

This revolution initiated a new phase in the history of this continent. The ideas of this revolution marked all subsequent political and social struggles of the peoples.

The GDR's Constitution Is in Line With the UN Documents

"Freedom, equality, fraternity"—they are the essence of the "Declaration of Human and Civil Rights" of 26 August 1789, and they have remained the demand of all serious political and social movements, which has survived the centuries. The revolutions on our continent, which developed as a result of World War I, in particular the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, added the demands, "lay down your arms," "peace for all peoples," and the demand for social justice, meaning for the abolition of exploitation of man by man. Today, it must be the concern of every policy to implement disarmament for peace, all-European cooperation, and human rights. The GDR considers it a truly European task to help create and use all the necessary conditions for this.

Human rights are collective and individual rights. They are conditional on each other, and they are indivisible and effective only as a whole.

In the interest of the individual and society, it is impossible to claim some rights and ignore others. This very aspect is pointed out in the General Declaration on Human Rights of 1948 and in the conventions on political and civil rights as well as on economic, social, and cultural rights, which were adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1967. The socialist German state has formulated its Constitution in line with these documents. Its action is determined by them.

Human rights are not abstract standards in the GDR. Much rather, the citizens feel and experience them in all walks of life, because the social situation creates the political and material conditions guaranteeing that all men exercise their basic rights.

Where Nobody Must Sleep Under the Bridges

Ownership and property—which has been the most important prerequisite over the centuries and in some cases even today for living decently—are of no importance for safeguarding and implementing basic rights in the GDR. Nobody in this country must sleep under the bridges, because socialism not only proclaims the right of housing, it also guarantees it; housing construction and cheap rents are the centerpiece of the state's social policy. The GDR is implementing its goal to solve the housing problem as a social problem by 1990. Since 1971, some 9 million citizens in the GDR received new apartments—more than 50 percent of its people; they are good, suitable, and modern apartments, for which only about 3 percent of a person's income has to be paid in rent.

Nobody in the socialist state must be concerned about his job and thus about his and his family's future, because the right of work and wages which are in keeping with performance is guaranteed, irrespective of a person's sex or age. That means that there are no lines of unemployed at labor offices or at closed factory gates. It means that there are no homeless people in our country, there is no "new poverty" or even children's work, that we do not have to complain about a two-third society, and that human wrecks destroyed by drugs are foreign to our everyday life.

Our social security system is comprehensive; it includes measures for the perfection of the nature and contents of work, as well as stable prices for basic foodstuffs, services, measures for increasing the real income, for the material and social furthering of families and mothers, financial support for pupils of expanded secondary schools and for students who do not have to pay for their studies but receive a scholarship, for the support of older citizens, for health protection and for rehabilitation, free visits of doctors and free medical care, for the improvement of the environment, and not lastly for safeguarding the citizens' legal security.

The GDR is a state of the youth now, a youth with a secure future—which also is an attribute that not all countries on this continent and elsewhere can claim for themselves.

Much has been done to guarantee equality of women in all spheres of society.

There Are No First, Second, or Third Class Citizens in Our Country

There are no first, second, or third class citizens in our society. Social injustice and the pressure of the economically stronger on the economically weaker one do not exist.

The citizens of the socialist German state consider psychological terror, vocational bans, and the persecution of peace supporters to be as gross a violation of human rights as racism and hatred of foreigners which is tolerated and even fanned. The revival of fascist ideologies should worry everybody, and therefore, we can only disapprove of and denounce the protection, toleration, and furthering of neo-Nazi and radical rightist forces by the police, the judiciary, and other state organs.

Mr Chairman!

As I said at the conclusion of the Vienna CSCE followup meeting, the GDR welcomes the statement of the participating states to work for the implementation of human rights in the entirety of political, civil, social, economic, and cultural rights.

Every State Has the Right to Determine its Policy Itself

The GDR is striving to implement the advantages and values of socialism for man in an increasingly better way. In this respect, in its administration of justice it takes into account the changing social conditions. In doing so, it acts in accordance with the agreement reached at the Vienna meeting, that all participating states respect the claim of every other state "to determine its right, its laws and decrees, its practice and policy itself."

It is stressed in the final document of the Vienna meeting that the respect for human rights and basic freedoms is an essential factor of peace, justice, and security, as well as of the development of friendly relations between the states. I endorse my country's position: Without ensuring peace through real disarmament, without guaranteeing a social development that is free of outside threats and free of destabilization instigated from outside, human rights for the peoples remain fragmentary, vulnerable and fragile.

Peace means life, which is an indispensable prerequisite for being able to exercise other human rights.

How can the right of free development of personality, of development of all peoples be guaranteed if the means required are used for armament and wasted in wars? And that only, because some arms and war profiteers want to profit from this?

History has taught us that war is the end of all human rights. Therefore, preventing war is an indispensable prerequisite for all human rights!

On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, I consider it an obligation to remind ourselves to mind that this war claimed the lives of 50 million people; 35 million were mutilated for the rest of their life. A military conflict today would be the end of human civilization, the end of life in general.

It is therefore everybody's duty to make sure that there will never be a war again. It is the duty of the two German states to do everything in their power, so that only peace can emanate from their territories. This has become the highest established law of the socialist German state.

Cold War and Confrontation Narrow Down Cooperation Opportunities

Cold war and confrontation already narrow down the opportunities of cooperation in the sphere of human rights as well as the shaping of basic rights in the states. Stepped up armament, hatred of peoples, psychological terror do not give society or the individual any leeway to develop personality and greatness of man. Only detente, peaceful coexistence, and mutually beneficial cooperation offer the relevant framework. Human rights flourish wherever they are cultivated. They are harmed and remain reserved to the wealthy where this is not the case.

Advance Concessions Show that Words and Deeds Are One in Socialism

Let me corroborate this:

The right to live is the first human right. Ensuring for man a life in peace, quiet, and security is the centerpiece of socialist policy. The GDR and the countries allied with it have a clear peace program. Their proposals on negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons and on drastic reductions in conventional forces and arms, which were submitted by the Warsaw Pact in Berlin recently and which meanwhile have been presented to the Vienna negotiations of the 23 states, have started moving the positions that had been bogged down for a long time. The unilateral reduction of forces and arms—in other words, advance concessions—prove once again that words and deeds of their foreign policy agree. However, all countries are called upon to demonstrate goodwill and to set a stimulating example. "Modernization," "deterrence," and other similar things are not suitable in this respect.

Ladies and gentlemen!

A meeting on the human dimension to the CSCE process would certainly be a good occasion to commit ourselves in principle to reduce military activities. It would be a good occasion to agree—on behalf and for the benefit of human rights—to cooperate in the elimination of underdevelopment, famine, disease, and illiteracy.

On the Basis of Equality in the Common European Home

Oriented toward the future, we would thereby contribute to improving the international conditions for the implementation of people's basic rights. It was proven long ago that the implementation of human rights is decisively marked by social conditions. Of course, there is no model valid for all, nor can there be any, given the different nature of the systems. Yet cooperation in the area of human rights becomes effective and constructive to the extent that the realization is gaining ground that no side alone can make its values the valid yardstick. We are striving for a "European home," but such a "European home" can only be a common home, if the values and persuasions of all partners are given room on an equal basis. The GDR's policy is guided by this.

Ladies and gentlemen, in January 1988 Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, said during his official visit to the French Republic in this city: "The ideas of the French Revolution spurred the progressive forces in Germany in striving for freedom, democracy, and human dignity, for social justice and social progress. We preserve and continue these traditions in our country."

That also includes opening up, together with all the other CSCE states, new terrain for all-European cooperation. This meeting here could live up to this demand, if matter-of-factness, common sense, and realism determine its atmosphere and work. The GDR is ready to contribute its share!

I thank the French Government and the city of Paris for their hospitality.

I thank you for your attention.

Bulgaria's Mladenov Delivers Speech

AU0106135589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 May 89 pp 1, 3

[Speech by Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, in Paris on 30 May at the first session of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE]

[Text] Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to express our gratitude to the French Government and people, and to President Mitterand personally, for their hospitality and for the excellent working conditions they have arranged.

Our delegation derives deep satisfaction from the fact that the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE is opening here, near the banks of the Seine, and that it is taking place at a time when France and Europe are commemorating the bicentennial of the Great French Revolution, because this was a truly epoch-making event that transformed Europe from the Atlantic

to the Urals in social, political, and intellectual respects. The ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity that inspired the French people in 1789 became a universal human symbol. They also provided a powerful impetus for the national revival and liberation movement of the Bulgarian people, which for centuries had been subjected to barbarous oppression and harsh foreign servitude.

Since that time, Europe and the world have traveled a long road in history, a road filled with trials and vicissitudes of fortune. The Old Continent experienced world wars, lived through the collapse of several empires, and became the arena for powerful social shocks, among which the Great October Socialist Revolution was of fateful importance. Various socioeconomic formations made their appearance, new contradictions and conflicts developed, and weapons of mass annihilation of unprecedented power were developed. However, in the final analysis, notwithstanding the contradictions and conflicts, Europe and humanity advanced along the road of human progress. Along this road, the world entered into a new stage of intellectual maturity, whose beginning lay in the awareness of the fact that man has at his disposal forces through which he is able to decide his future fate and to alter our planet's natural environment.

The new political thinking, which placed universal human values at the center of the world's problems, was a qualitative step in this evolution. It elevated man as the principal agent of historical progress, as the primary unit of society in his capacity as a creator of material and intellectual wealth.

Contemporary political doctrines, albeit in different ways, express this imperative of our time. They are addressed, even if along different paths, to man's welfare, to his physical and intellectual liberation from serfdom. Peace and harmonious coexistence are being achieved through the interraction of ideas and values. It is natural for the different philosophical views of our modern world, instead of clashing with one another on a fanatical, emotional basis, to enter into positive competition, in which practice and scientific proof should form the only criteria for the truth, not blind trust in dogmas and myths. In this manner our knowledge of the world would develop and deepen, and the human individual would be enriched in the conditions of the civilized law-governed state and the community of such states.

Vienna was an important stage in the quest for a common approach to the issues of the modern world. In this quest, the human dimension of the all-European process occupied an important place. The accords reached in the Austrian capital formed an original charter for restructuring the international climate in Europe along the road of the humanization, demilitarization, and democratization of relations between countries and peoples.

It is precisely from this starting point that the prospects lie for the discussion that we are starting in Paris today. For this very reason, we must not allow the session to follow the old lines of aggressive monologues and fruitless battles of words. This has been the case in the past. Experience should have convinced us of the senselessness of this. The only way is political dialogue, in the mutual search for humane and universally acceptable approaches to the numerous, not always simple social, economic, and historical problems of the individual and society that confront all countries and peoples without exception.

I will attempt to briefly set out our views on these topical and sensitive problems of contemporary international intercourse.

Our country readily adopted the Vienna accords, because it was convinced that they form a valuable international support in our efforts for restructuring.

The radical economic reform that has begun in Bulgaria opens up broad prospects for initiative and for fulfillment of the individual in all spheres of social life.

A comprehensive renewal of the country's legal system is in progress, which is aimed at reaffirming both the radical changes in our society in the spirit of self-management and the expansion of the rights and liberties of every Bulgarian citizen, and which is fully in keeping with the international obligations our country has accepted.

At its last session, the National Assembly adopted amendments to the Law on Foreign Travel Passports, the Bulgarian Citizenship Act, and the Penal Code, as well as the Amnesty Act, which are totally in accordance with the changing internal conditions and in harmony with the dominating trend of the primacy of the law in both domestic and international relations and with the trend for an increasing exchange of people, ideas, and cultural values.

I mention these as only a few examples of the all-embracing process of democratic renewal of our national life. They vividly reflect the interaction between domestic and foreign policy, for which the new role of the human factor forms the connecting link.

The most advanced achievements of human thought and the progressive and humane norms of the international community are our guides toward the future. I would like to declare from this lofty platform that all of us, without exception, must assimilate these achievements and establish these norms in our practice. There are no ideal societies, and no states can set themselves up as judges. There is no place in our dialogue for a preaching tone, for admonitions and attacks, or for double standards. The yardstick is the same for all and, if we are to fight against violations of human rights, we must willy-nilly do this over their whole possible range—from the right to life, liberty, and personal security to the right to work, housing, and education.

The correct, adequate interpretation of our differing basic political concepts, including our concepts of the problems of peaceful coexistence, also largely depend on our common understanding of the rights problem. The key to such understanding is the unconditional acceptance of the right of choice. By acknowledging this right, we lay the foundation for a balance of interests, without which it will be impossible to build a united peaceful continent or, as we say now, our common European home. Just as the interests of one party cannot be respected at the expense of another in this coexistence, so the complete realization of the human dimension will be impossible if we disregard one group of rights and liberties to the benefit of another.

Human rights and freedoms are connected with the rights and freedoms of human communities and states. To dictate in one field, if permitted, would logically lead to distortion in the other field.

The right of choice presupposes rejection of the position of power politics, of interference in internal affairs, and of imposing one's own norms and prescriptions on others.

As is well known, certain foreign media are attempting to hinder the renewal processes in our country. Their incitements have led to a breach of public order. The principled position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on this issue was clearly announced yesterday evening in the address of State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov.

We attach great importance to regional cooperation, including on human rights issues and humanitarian questions. This problem is no less important and topical in the Balkans than anywhere else. Within the framework of the process of all-Balkan cooperation, a meeting of the Balkan countries will be held this coming September in Sofia on questions of culture, the mass media, and humanitarian cooperation. We hope that this meeting will provide an original contribution to the all-European process in its human dimension.

Bulgaria is highly interested in the direction that the work of the Paris forum will take. The reasons for this are clear. In Paris the Vienna accords should be turned into flesh and blood, and conditions should be created for the partner countries to develop cooperation in the humanitarian field. It is here that every country will get the opportunity to show what it is doing in the matter of guaranteeing the rights of its citizens, in order to develop competition and an exchange of experience between the European states in this noble enterprise. Lastly, it is here that it will become clear who, and with what intentions, has come to play a part in this great international cause.

As far as the Bulgarian delegation is concerned, I would like to assure you that we have come to the meeting with the most honorable intentions regarding constructive, businesslike cooperation. In order to avoid any ambiguity, I will stress that we understand the word cooperation not as the evasion of controversial issues, nor again as a conspiracy of accusations and attacks against anyone at all. We intend to speak on the problems from positions of realism and goodwill. We will show our interest in problems for which we are seeking solutions ourselves, and in which the international community as a whole is interested.

This interest of ours, as President Todor Zhivkov underlined recently, under the conditions in which all issues acquire global dimensions, naturally coincides with universal human interests and with the great humane ideals of peace, liberty, and creativity.

For us, the Conference on the Human Dimension is an undertaking with a strong positive potential that is capable of truly "breathing life" into the East-West political dialogue. We expect it to contribute to further clearing away the accretions and stereotypes from the period of confrontation, and to overcoming alienation and distrust. The Bulgarian delegation will not spare any efforts in achieving this goal.

Thank you for your attention.

Zhivkov Receives Indian Congress Party Figure

AU0206192689 Sofia BTA in English
1724 GMT 2 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 2 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, received today Mrs Sheila Kaul, general secretary of the All-Indian Committee of the Congress (I) Party, who is paying a visit to this country on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the International Children's Movement and the Banner of Peace Assembly.

It was stressed that relations between Bulgaria and India are developing to the interest of the two peoples, to peace, security and cooperation in the world. The relations between the BCP and the Congress (I) Party as ruling parties have contributed to their activation.

The wide cultural exchange between the two peoples, including in the sphere of childrens' creative work contributes both to the mutual acquaintance as well as to the further development of the essentially new international relations which are now being established.

The guest who is among the greatest popularizers, not only in India, but in the world at large, of the ideas of the International Children's Movement and the Banner of Peace Assembly pointed out that Bulgaria is a country which has done a lot to the versatile development of children. In relation with that Mrs Sheila Kaul once again proposed that Sofia will become a headquarters of the U.N.O. on issues related to children, which will be an acknowledgement for its contribution in this sphere.

Mr Vladimir Zhivkov, director general of the Banner of Peace Center, president of the Lyudmila Zhivkova international foundation participated in the meeting.

Stanishev Receives Sheila Kaul

AU0106192089 Sofia BTA in English
1749 GMT 1 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 1 (BTA)—Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], had a meeting with Ms Sheila Kaul, secretary general of the All-India Committee of the Indian National Congress Party (I), who is visiting this country in connection with the 10th anniversary of the International Banner of Peace Children's Assembly. They informed each other of the activity of their parties in the sphere of home and foreign policy.

It was pointed out that the cooperation between the BCP and the Indian National Congress Party (I) stimulates the development of the economic and techno-scientific exchange on mutually advantageous base, that the cultural relations between the two countries and the two peoples are undergoing upgrade development.

Ms Sheila kaul was acquainted with the preparations for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Jawaharlal Nehru in Bulgaria which will be held in November this year.

Filipov Receives CPSU Central Committee Group

AU0506134589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jun 89 p 6

[Text] A working group of the CPSU Central Committee led by Vladimir Besanets, deputy chief of a sector of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, visited Bulgaria from 29 May to 2 June.

The group was received by Grisha Filipov, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and Central Committee secretary. During the talks the participants reviewed matters of party leadership in implementing the banking reform in the two countries, developing new forms of Bulgarian-USSR cooperation, and cooperation in third countries. The guests had meetings in many ministries and departments, and in the BCP Ruse Municipal Committee and Ruse Municipal People's Council. They visited economic organizations and enterprises in the country.

Opinions on a broad range of specific matters were exchanged during the meetings, which took place in a cordial atmosphere.

The Soviet guests departed for their motherland.

Atanasov To Begin Visit to Poland on 7 Jun

AU0606165389 Sofia BTA in English
1601 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—The friendly working visit to Poland of Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, which is made at the invitation of Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, begins tomorrow.

Atanasov Receives Albanian State Planning Chief

AU0506150289 Sofia BTA in English
1358 GMT 5 Jun 89

["Bulgaro-Albanian Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 5 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr Niko Gjyazari, chairman of the State Planning Commission of Albania.

Satisfaction with the dynamic development and the variegation of the structure of trade between the two countries was expressed. The recently-signed additional protocol on the increase of the turnover in 1989-1990 proves that business contacts have been extended.

It was underlined that with the entry-into-force of the agreement on sci-technical and economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Albania and the establishment of a joint commission in this field Bulgaro-Albanian economic relations will enter upon a new phase. The traditional business relations will be complemented and stimulated by the realization of joint projects in the industrial sphere and in the field of sci-technical cooperation.

Information was exchanged on problems of the social and economic development of the two countries and on problems of international relations.

Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, was also present at the meeting.

Atanasov Arrives in Prague, Holds Economic Talks
AU0706072389 Sofia BTA in English
2045 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Prague, June 6 (BTA corr.)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, arrived here today to a friendly working visit at the invitation of Mr Ladislav Adamec, head of the Government of Czechoslovakia.

Talks between the two countries' leaders started immediately after the arrival. Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy foreign affairs minister, Mr Stoyan Zhulev, chairman of the Bulgarian Association of Tourism and Recreation participated in the talks on the Bulgarian part.

The Czechoslovakian side was presented by Mr Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy chairman of the Government of Czechoslovakia and president of the State Committee on Techno-Scientific Development and Capital Investments, Mr Bohumil Urban, first deputy chairman of the Government of Czechoslovakia and chairman of the State Committee on Planning, Mr Jan Sterba, minister of foreign trade, Mr Pavel Sadovski, first deputy foreign affairs minister.

Mr Georgi Atanasov and Mr Ladislav Adamec briefed each other on the tasks which the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the CCP [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] and the two countries' governments are solving at the present stage of development in the processes of restructuring of the political and economic life in all spheres of intellectual development. They discussed the possibilities for deepening of the integration processes in the two countries. In relation with that the significance was stressed of the Long-Term Programme For Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

The state of Bulgaro-Czechoslovakian relations which are marking an upward trend of development was considered in a realistic and constructive spirit. At the same time the need was stressed to apply most progressive forms of economic cooperation to the interest of the two countries. According to Mr Georgi Atanasov this includes the establishment of joint-stock companies, the establishment of business contacts and relations, joint investments. The successful development was stressed of the cooperation and specialization in the frameworks of the Liaz-Madara Company and the possibility for expansion of cooperation in the sphere of car industry, energy, electronics, precision tools building.

The two sides said that there are a number of unsolved issues and difficulties, mainly in the trade and economical sphere which can and must be solved with mutual efforts.

During the talks the two sides stressed the need to improve coordination of national-economy plans of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. They spoke of the forthcoming 45th session of the C.M.E.A. which will be held in Sofia at the end of June this year.

The sides considered some topical issues of present-day international relations and the situation in the world.

Today the leader of the Bulgarian Government was received by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak. In the friendly talk the sides stressed the traditional good relations between the two countries, their development in all spheres in compliance with agreement on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance.

Today in Prague Mr Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of Czechoslovakian Communist Party received Mr Georgi Atanasov, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria.

In a friendly talk the two interlocutors gave a positive assessment to the development of bilateral relations and spoke of the need for their further versatile development.

It was said that new forms must be established for the production and techno-scientific cooperation, both in the frameworks of C.M.E.A., as well as on bilateral basis. The Czechoslovakian and the Bulgarian side showed similarity in positions, stating that the arising issues and tasks in the development of the socialist countries should be solved jointly, to the interest of strengthening of their unity and cooperation.

Atanasov Holds Talks With Iranian Delegation
AU0206191889 Sofia BTA in English
1746 GMT 2 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 2 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Mahmoud Vaezi, deputy-foreign affairs minister of Iran. They discussed issues of mutual interest, related to the results of the Sixth Session of the Joint Committee on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation which was held in Tehran at the end of this month.

The guest was also received today by the Foreign Affairs Minister of this country Mr Petur Mladenov.

Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy-foreign affairs minister, was present at the meetings.

Foreign Ministry Approves Casablanca Arab Summit
AU0606183589 Sofia BTA in English
1756 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—Bulgaria highly assesses and hails the resolutions of the conference in Casablanca, said Mr Maksim Karadzhov, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the occasion of the extraordinary summit meeting of the Arab League countries which was held in Morocco.

He stressed that in Bulgaria, which maintains traditionally good relations with the Arab countries, the work of the conference and its results caused great interest. In a responsible political moment, when for the first time in decades, there seem to be real possibilities for the achievement of an all-round, lasting and just settlement of the Middle East issue, on the basis of the observance of the interest of all countries involved, the leaders of the Arab states showed political wisdom and sincere desire to achieve an all-Arab position, the spokesman said.

Positive assessment is given to the position of the participants in the meeting as regards the process of achievement of peace in the Middle East and of the ways of regulation of the Lebanese crisis at preservation of its territorial wholeness and sovereignty. Bulgaria hails the return of Egypt in the League of Arab States, which will doubtless contribute to the strengthening of unity of action of the Arab peoples and will contribute to the turning of the Middle East from a region of contradictions and military conflicts to a region of peace and understanding, where all people will make use of their full and irrevocable rights, the spokesman of the Foreign Affairs Ministry said.

Lukanov Signs Economic Protocol With Albania
AU0306165989 Sofia BTA in English
1552 GMT 3 Jun 89

["Bulgaria, Albania: New Possibilities for Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Bulgaro-Albanian Commission on Economic Cooperation, and Mr Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission of Albania, chairman of the Albanian part of the joint commission, signed today a protocol supplementary to the Protocol for Goods Exchange and Payments Between the Two Countries for 1989. This document provides conditions for promotion of economic relations in the sphere of mutual interest, for further improvement of the forms of cooperation.

It is planned that the Bulgarian export of agricultural machinery and of certain alimentary goods is increased and that Albanian import [as received] of citrus fruit, tobacco and alimentary goods expands further. New possibilities open up for the increase of the goods exchange by about 45 per cent compared to 1988.

"The document which was signed in Sofia marks a new stage in the development of economic and trade cooperation between Bulgaria and Albania. It provides conditions for more dynamic business contact and development of good relations between the two countries," the guest told a BTA reporter. "Your country is one of the states with which we maintain most busy trade relations. I believe that if we continue this rate of development of economic cooperation we will contribute to strengthening of our national economies, to the development of Balkan cooperation," he said.

Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy foreign affairs minister, was present at the signing of the document.

Kuwaiti Justice Minister Talks With Daskalova
AU0606173289 Sofia BTA in English
1607 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—Mr Dari 'Abdallah al-'Uthman, the Kuwaiti minister of justice, legal and administrative affairs, who is paying a visit to this country, had today talks with senior representatives of the legal system, at the time of which the mutual wish for development of cooperation was confirmed.

At meetings with Ms Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice, Mr Ivan Velinov, chairman of the Supreme Court, Mr Vasil Mruchkov, chief prosecutor, the significance was stressed of relations in the sphere of justice in the framework of the developing bilateral cooperation, the new realities in the world and humanization of interstate relations.

Ms Svetla Daskalova and Mr Dari 'Abdallah al-'Uthman exchanged ratification documents about the agreement for legal and judicial assistance on civic and penal trials.

The guest was briefed on the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria and of the changes which are prepared in the legal superstructure, which will provide juridical guarantees for the renovation in all spheres of social life and for the processes of democratization.

Atanasov Briefs Kuwaiti Minister on Muslims
AU0506185489 Sofia BTA in English
1757 GMT 5 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 5 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, received Mr Dari 'Abdallah 'al-Uthman, minister of justice, legal and administrative affairs of Kuwait.

The two sides discussed a wide range of questions of the bilateral relations and stressed the importance of the bilateral agreement on legal and court assistance on civil and penal affairs signed in the end of the previous year. Bulgaria is the first socialist country with which Kuwait has signed such a treaty.

The two sides discussed also the problems of the trade-economic cooperation, the opportunities for their activation on the basis of new forms of cooperation, joint companies and joint investments included.

The leader of the Bulgarian Government spoke of the changes in Bulgaria, of the restructuring of the national economy, expressed in the broad transference of economic levers and regulators of the democratization in all spheres of social life.

The guest expressed interest in certain questions related to the freedom of religion of the Bulgarian Muslims and expressed satisfaction over the explanations.

Mrs Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice of Bulgaria, also took part in the talk.

Muslim Religious Council Issues Declaration

AU0206193089 Sofia BTA in English
1727 GMT 1 Jun 89

["Declaration of the Muslim Denomination in Bulgaria"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 2 (BTA)—"We the members of the Supreme Religious Council of the Muslims in Bulgaria, following the dictates of our conscience and our convictions, express unreserved support for the statement of the President of the State Council Todor Zhivkov broadcast on National Television and Radio," reads a declaration of the Council which has been circulated here.

The declaration censures the Turkey's Pan-Turkish and expansionist propaganda targeted at Bulgaria, which has nothing to do with the free profession of the Islamic faith. "We declare in full conviction that the Muslim clergy in the People's Republic of Bulgaria have not yielded to this propaganda and has unreservedly taken the side of our people's government. At their meetings, the district imams have sharply condemned the slanders and the unjustified accusations levelled at our country," say the members of the Supreme Religious Council of the Muslims in Bulgaria.

Further on, the Muslim religious dignitaries declare: "The Muslims have one homeland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, where they live happily and freely profess their religion. We shall not tolerate the profession of the Islamic faith being identified with with Turkish ethnicity.

"We are united and firm in backing our people's government and socialism which gave us prosperity, freedom and the self-confidence of equal citizens of our homeland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"This is the land where our forbears have lived, where we are living and where our children will live."

The Muslim clergymen state their readiness to struggle for the unity of the Bulgarian people.

"Our prophet Muhammed teaches us to work peacefully and to love our homeland. We will do our best to translate this precept into life," the declaration reads.

Yakimov Elected New District Mufti in Kurdzhali

AU3005192289 Sofia BTA in English
1659 GMT 30 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 30 (BTA)—Today district Mufti elections were held in Kurdzhali (southern Bulgaria) in compliance with the Statute of Muslim Religion in Bulgaria. Two candidates ran to fill in the vacancy of district Mufti. Andrey Yakimov Yakimov was elected district Mufti in Kurdzhali polling 61 out of 92 votes cast by the representatives of the Bulgarian Muslim Boards of Trustees who took part in the election.

Andrey Yakimov was born in 1936 in the village of Ostrovo, Razgrad region. He finished a secondary pedagogical school and then graduated from a teacher's training college. His participation in the international competition of melodious reading of the Koran in Iran was a success. Before being elected district Mufti in Kurdzhali, he was a district Imam in Sofia.

Party Talks With SFRY on Economic Planning

AU0306133389 Sofia BTA in English
2033 GMT 2 Jun 89

[Text] Varna, June 2 (BTA)—A Bulgaro-Yugoslav roundtable discussion on planning and commodity-money relations under socialism was held here from May 29 to June 2. This initiative, the first of its kind in the cooperation between the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, was organised by the Institute of Social Management with the Central Committee of the BCP. The group of Yugoslav scholars attending the forum was led by Prof Dr Jurij Bajec, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. The participants exchanged information and views on the reform processes in the two countries' economies. They discussed the opportunities for more active economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav scholars were received by Mr Emil Khristov, secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP.

Tanchev on Destabilizing 'Foreign Circles'

AU0206201989 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 89

[Text] The aktiv of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] held a meeting in Sofia at which it reviewed the trends and postulates contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's statement about the Bulgarian nation's unity.

Comrade Petur Tanchev delivered a speech in which he stressed that our first party and state leader has pointed out the paths along which we will reach an even closer unification of the Bulgarian nation. The speaker emphasized that the BZNS members fully support and adopt these directives, and resolutely reject the attempts of reactionary, foreign circles to destabilize the situation in our country.

The participants in the meeting adopted a resolution in which they rejected with indignation all efforts of manipulating the feelings of our country's citizens and all attempts of interference in our homeland, where we all enjoy the same rights and share the same responsibilities.

National Assembly Economic Commission Meets
AU3105143389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 May 89 p 2

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "Effectiveness Is the Main Requirement"]

[Text] A meeting of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development was held in Sofia yesterday. In addition to National Assembly deputies, leading officials from ministries and departments, managers of companies and economic organizations attended the meeting.

One, single item was on the agenda—namely the discussion on the effectiveness of material resources management. National Assembly deputies Angel Zapryanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers' Committee For Material Economy, and Anastasiy Donchev, leader of the National Assembly Deputies' Subcommission, who submitted short addenda to the report and co-report took the floor.

The problem of material resources management is becoming increasingly topical, both on a large, state level and on the small level of economic units (namely on the level of companies). This is so because the activities connected with material-technical supply of production and with the establishment of conditions for an efficient and thrifty use of material resources are of decisive importance for the normal procedure of the reproduction process in the socialist economy, for the intensification of social production.

There is no doubt at all that in recent years, and especially following the 13th Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Congress, following the July and December plenums of the BCP Central Committee, a restructuring process has been under way also in the system of material economy management. What does this restructuring process consists of? Material-technical supplies should be placed entirely on a commercial basis, while gradually replacing the mechanism of the centralist distribution of material resources with a mechanism of free commodity-monetary relations, with production means based on the market economy.

Common sense preserved the debates against "rosy" distortions of the real situation. National Assembly deputies Ivan Poplov, Ivan Prumov, and Vasil Kolarov, as well as the temporary managers of state companies, such as Dimitur Vasilev (from "Feniksresurs"), Stefan Damyanov (from "Metal Casting"), and Neno Vasilev, expert from the Ministry of Planning and Economy, took the floor. They made specific recommendations for the improvement of the present system of managing material resources.

In one form or another the speakers dwelled on the basic reasons for the existence of shortcomings in the material resources management, such as: considerable lack of coordination between needs and available resources; the monopolistic policy of numerous producer and supply organizations; the excessive accumulation of reserves and accumulation of resources above the norm; the poor state of discipline in fulfilling contractual obligations for production and supplies.

The material consumption in our economic sector is considerably higher than in the developed countries. Technologies for saving resources are being too slowly introduced and new materials are not yet used on a large scale. The design of products has not been sufficiently simplified.

Numerous enterprises interrupt their production activities because of insufficient, incomplete, and irregular material-technical supplies.

Such conclusions were expressed in the decision that was adopted.

Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Permanent Commission for Socioeconomic Development, pointed out as follows in his closing speech: The functioning of the material supplies system is a question of crucial importance. The management of material resources does not correspond to the current requirements of company-based organization of economic activities. It is impossible to adopt a qualitatively new economic growth, a new model of economic development, without restructuring this system. We will accomplish nothing by mere cosmetic adjustments. A radical change is called for in this connection. Material supplies should be placed on an economic basis, they should be based on commodity-monetary, market economy relations. We need a new approach to balancing the plan. Exceptional attention should be devoted to the use of electronic-calculating equipment. The problem of the country's material resources deserves to be discussed at the National Assembly plenary session.

Bratislava PRAVDA Reports Clashes in Beijing
AU0606130689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The Firearms Have Also Had Their Say; A Tense Situation in Beijing After the Army's Intervention"]

[Text] Beijing—Yesterday evening Chinese state television broadcast many announcements, according to which the deployment of armed forces in the center of Beijing on Saturday [3 June] night was intended to guarantee the normalization of life in the capital city, where on Saturday many attacks had been made against members of the security units who were trying to enforce the decision to impose a state of emergency.

At the same time, television confirmed that during the operation intended to clean up Tiananmen Square, where students were continuing their protest strike, tanks, armored vehicles, and infantry combat vehicles were employed, and besides this, the soldiers used tear gas and firearms.

According to reports from the Soviet news agency TASS, the situation in the center of Beijing at 1800 local time continued to be very tense. Tiananmen Square and the surrounding area was sealed off by strong military units; the Army was also occupying the main boulevard, Changan, and the surrounding streets, and armored vehicles were patrolling at many crossroads. Sporadic gunfire was heard in the vicinity of the square during the afternoon.

The streets, where on Saturday night clashes broke out between soldiers and demonstrators, are lined with the burned-out wrecks of buses, trucks, and all kinds of debris, out of which the students built barricades in an attempt to halt the soldiers' advance. In places the burned-out wrecks of military trucks and armored vehicles can also be seen.

Western agencies, with reference to local sources, are broadcasting various reports in which the number of victims is estimated at between several dozen and several hundred.

Commentary Assesses Bush Disarmament Proposals
AU0606152189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jun 89 p 5

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "Just a Test Balloon"]

[Text] A caricaturist in some Western newspapers has expressed Bush's disarmament initiatives in a drawing which portrays the American President with a balloon on which is the inscription: U.S. disarmament proposals. This drawing reflects West German public opinion which does not consider these initiatives to be serious. George Bush, therefore, has not even achieved his original intention, which was not so much a disarmament one as a populist one. He had thought, however, that he would repair the reputation of the United States, as well as his own, and that the public would appreciate this step as "peace-creating."

By his proposals Bush is endeavoring to create the impression that he is placing some kind of "test" before the Soviet Union and Mikhail Gorbachev about whether Moscow is serious about disarmament. Such jokes should not be made at the presidential level. For in Moscow they are much further ahead with their own proposals for a reduction in armed forces and armaments. Rather, it should be demanded that Bush, instead of "tests", begins to negotiate concretely with the Soviet Union.

In Washington they think that at last they have managed to draft a disarmament concept and to respond "appropriately" to the Soviet initiatives. It was perhaps a hesitant step but certainly not an "appropriate" response. For the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact have proposed to the United States and NATO almost everything, from limiting conventional and nuclear weapons to the elimination of both military groups, which it is possible to introduce in disarmament plans. However, all of this is, according to Washington and London, only a "trick."

Reports came from London and Paris that there can be no talk about the reduction of British and French troops in Western Europe. The daily, THE GUARDIAN, even wrote that British units and French forces deployed in the FRG are deliberately not contained in the proposals which George Bush presented because M. Thatcher and F. Mitterrand would not agree to this. In their desire "to test" the Soviet Union on whether or not it will accept their proposals, which, in essence, do not mean very much, they are as one.

No, the West, unfortunately, has not managed to convince us that it has a serious interest in the disarmament process. During a gala dinner with the American president, Chancellor Helmut Kohl expressed his satisfaction with Bush's proposals and the compromise on tactical missiles, which supposedly healed the rift and West German-American relations can be once again normalized, but in fact the argument has still not ended. At least not between the American Administration and the West German people because the threat of the deployment of these weapons on FRG territory has still not disappeared. And not one FRG citizen wants to become the sacrificial lamb in the Atlantic military alliance's nuclear game.

U.S. Accused of 'Interference' in Socialist Bloc
AU0606161989 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 21 24 May 89 p 1

[Robert Dengler commentary: "In Which Direction is Bush Looking?"]

[Text] "The next American President will have a historic opportunity and obligation to bring to an end the decades-long cold war," wrote Stephen F. Cohen, the

well known "Sovietologist", last year. And he added that it is impossible to keep on ad infinitum demanding unilateral disarmament activity from the Soviet Union: "Comparable American initiatives are necessary."

Now the time of action has indeed arrived for the United States and its allies in NATO. Their long-drawn-out and ostentatiously "antagonistic" discussions on the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles, however, do not give too much cause for optimism. For the outcome is the "chronology of renewal" of these weapons, not a concrete proposal for their elimination. It seems that the West is striving for more: creating a situation by its tactics in which "there will remain no other alternative" for the Soviet Union other than to make further unilateral concessions.

The public debate of leading American politicians and ideologists—including Kissinger and Brzezinski—obviously fits into this scenario of offering the socialist countries a so-called security arrangement: "In exchange" for the West's acceptance of the disarmament proposals, "the loosening of ties" between the Soviet Union and the surrounding socialist states. Thus, they are trying to drive a wedge into our community.

The fact that this is not only a tactical maneuver but a worked out strategy is borne out by the long-term campaign of neo-conservative ideologists and the mass media in the United States. It is endeavoring to convince public opinion about "the constant aggressive intentions of the USSR." Supposedly, its disarmament initiatives are not credible for they are not accompanied by "fundamental changes to the system" in the Soviet Union. It is even claimed that a reformed USSR will become even more dangerous for the West because "perestroyka" means "peredyshka" (a short respite) in its expansionist efforts....

It is necessary to say that although the Soviet initiatives have led to comprehensive positive changes in the state of mind of the populace of capitalist countries, there remains, first and foremost in the United States, a huge reserve of contrary thinking. N. Mailer, the well-known American author, recently said: "I must admit that the term 'communist threat' has very deep roots in the United States. There are people who have built careers on anticommunism.... No matter what happens to them, they attach all the blame to communism." This was also confirmed last year by the quarterly FOREIGN AFFAIRS. The results of one of the opinion polls (they are carried out in turn by a Republican, a Democratic, and an "independent" company) indicate that still more than half of all Americans believe that the "Soviets stand" behind world and regional conflicts and that the Soviet Union is prepared to attack a "weak" United States or its allies.

The above mentioned neo-conservative circles abuse this to justify procrastinations in the disarmament process and to interfere at the same time in the internal development of socialist countries, for example, with offers of a modified Marshall Plan. Recently in the United States they proposed not to suspend repayments or not to write off socialist countries' debts (particularly Poland) but to transfer their claims into shares in enterprises, which they would be able to buy out in time. In view of the extent of the indebtedness of some socialist countries this is an instruction to implement "the bulk buying of socialism" under the pretext of aid....

The tendencies of achieving the subversion of socialism by all possible means have not then abated. Where is the Bush administration heading in this situation? Toward gradual steps to strengthen peace? Or will the attempt to use the view that "pure communism is the greatest danger," as R. Reagan expressed himself in his last presidential address, be victorious?

Bulgaria's Atanasov Meets Leaders in Prague

LD0606173789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] President of the Republic Gustav Husak received at Prague Castle today Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers who is paying a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia. The two statesmen praised the traditionally good relations of friendship and cooperation which are developing in all spheres in harmony with the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. At the same time they pointed the the significance of setting up all-around conditions for the development of more efficient forms of cooperation, such as industrial cooperation, creating joint enterprises and development of direct contacts between production organizations, research institutes, cultural, educational and health care institutions. Exchanging views on the current international development the two sides confirmed their determination to continue contributing actively toward creating the atmosphere of trust and security in Europe and in the world, toward attempts to secure lasting peace.

During today's talks between the premiers of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, Georgi Atanasov briefed Ladislav Adamec in detail on the internal political and economic situation in Bulgaria and on the views on the international political development. Restructuring has been designated as a long-term process with Bulgaria at the beginning. Ladislav Adamec briefed the guest on the internal political and economic development of Czechoslovakia. The two premiers also exchanged views on the possibilities of further development of CEMA.

Discusses Ties With Jakes

LD0606172689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] In Prague today Comrade Milos Jakes received Georgi Atanasov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

They assessed positively the level of bilateral cooperation achieved and spoke in favor of further developing mutual relations. They stressed that it is necessary to make use of modern forms of production and scientific-technical cooperation—both in the CEMA and in bilateral relations.

Milos Jakes also briefed his guest on the present internal political situation, the progress of the economic reform, and the democratization of political and public life in Czechoslovakia.

Talks With Adamec

AU0606184289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov has arrived in Prague on a friendly working visit. At the airport, he was welcomed by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec and other officials.

Comrade Atanasov is accompanied by Comrades Stoyan Ovcharov and Andrey Lukanov, First Deputy Foreign Minister Mariy Ivanov, and Stoyan Zhulev, chairman of the Bulgarian Tourism and Recreation Association.

At the talks that started, views were exchanged on the state of bilateral relations. Comrade Georgi Atanasov pointed out the importance of the Long-Term Program for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Until the Year 2000 signed by Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Milos Jakes in Sofia last year.

The two leaders briefed one another on progress in the restructuring of socioeconomic life in Bulgaria and the CSSR. It was stressed that the accords reached create preconditions for dialogue, cooperation, direct links, production sharing at the level of the enterprises themselves, and the whole wealth of forms provided by restructuring.

A review was also made of the main problems relating to goods exchange.

Daily on Impact of Soviet Deputies' Congress

AU0506152689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Policy of All-Human Interests"]

[Text] The attention with which public opinion throughout the world has been following the discussions of the Soviet deputies, and the views and assessments that have been expressed about them in the world, show that the significance of such an event as the latest USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow reaches far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. The policy of restructuring in the Soviet Union and also in other socialist states has already significantly affected the situation in the international arena. The connection between the USSR's domestic political transformations and the Soviet society's plans on the one hand, and the international activities of the Soviet state on the other hand was again underscored by Mikhail Gorbachev in his statement on Tuesday [30 May].

Our Soviet friends are proceeding from one of the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism, i.e. that in the process of getting to know the world, during which the world is transformed, man himself is changed and transformed. It can be generally said that it is typical for the Soviet social changes that they are leading the country back to the scientific, theoretical foundations of the socialist society, and doing it today, when new political thinking is being sought and shaped. That is also why one can so often hear it stressed that one should revert to the study of the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other theoreticians of our revolutionary doctrine, and see them through today's eyes, incomparably enriched by the experience and knowledge acquired during the many years of socialist construction, which has always been part of the overall social progress—part of the current world development.

Although the world is full of contradictions and antagonisms, it is nevertheless an entity in which everything is quite obviously interdependent. In this sense the policy of restructuring as the innovationist solution of pivotal problems plays an indispensable role. It is not a stereotype, it does not offer so-called cut-and-dried solutions—on the contrary, it merges and interprets the people's wishes, ideas, and dreams of how to settle and resolve the burning, acute problems which concern everybody. It is a flexible policy, one based on collective wisdom and the joint assessment of problems; this makes it truly the policy of the people, since it sees the problems of all mankind as primary problems. The recognition of the priority of all-human interests and values is the foundation of new political thinking, which will start to yield full results only when all participants in international life have mastered it.

Soviet foreign policy is succeeding in unravelling the international problems which only 4-5 years ago seemed hopelessly tangled. The ability to apply a new approach to the discrepancies in the present world, to get rid of certain dogmatic stereotypes and prejudices, has also enabled us to find new, sometimes undreamed-of ways to resolve the world problems which have so far been concealed behind the veil of the policy of confrontation.

The current Moscow congress has been learning from the past. Foreign policy must leave the realm of dusty scholastic studies, and what is a relatively narrow circle of people must be prevented from making decisions about the important problems of Soviet foreign policy. A significant part of the Soviet political reform is that foreign policy itself must become a public affair, for only thus can one avoid making mistakes and find the best solution.

Mikhail Gorbachev has declared that the danger of a nuclear war is no longer a threat. This extremely important fact is one of the specific results of the policy of restructuring in the international arena. Nevertheless, it is still our main task to eliminate nuclear weapons, i.e. to rid mankind once and for all of the threat of nuclear self-annihilation.

It has become possible to provide for state security by political and diplomatic means, not only by military means. This is a realistic statement, based on the realities of our times. The Soviet Union and other socialist states have so far had to spend considerable financial sums on defense, on the maintenance of a military equilibrium in the world. Nevertheless, the results of disarmament talks, resumed thanks to the policy of restructuring in particular, justify the conclusion that it is possible, as the Soviet Comrades believe, to cut down defense expenditures and to make one's own exemplary contribution to disarmament. In fact, the endeavor to reduce military expenditures has now become worldwide and is being discussed in the parliaments of many states. This, too, proves how the new political thinking, pushed through by the socialist states, is influencing the international situation.

To use a simile, the new edifice of international relations—and, for example, the "common European home" is merely part of this edifice—is only just being built. Despite the deep differences between the existing social systems, all of them now show certain objective possibilities for mankind to enter a new phase of peaceful coexistence. This is a worldwide process and one should not consider it terminated. This process is continuous, it has certain development stages, and we cannot exclude that it could even show certain deviations, but it is certainly taking place—it is under way. Still, so far no radical transformation of international relations, no radical reversal has occurred in this sphere. And this is how our Soviet friends appraise it, too.

We are still living in the period of transformation from the policy of confrontation to the vision of a better future, one which not only has definite outlines and programmed goals, but also practical results. The divergence of views and values recognized by the individual members of the international community cannot and must not become an obstacle to the adoption of sensible, unpostponable decisions. If we succeed in coming to an agreement on the formulation and solution of the greatest problems, problems which concern all mankind—such as disarmament, environmental protection, and a new economic order, then we will be truly capable of changing the world and of turning the motto of our program to defend and provide for peace and for the coexistence of states and people into the norm and guarantee of our future joint life.

Weeks' Events Viewed

AU0606152389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jun 89 p 7

[Vladimir Jancura commentary: "Seven Hot Days"]

[Text] We have behind us the first 7 days of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies. According to the original plans, this unparalleled session—comparable perhaps only with the Leninist congresses of soviets—should have ended the day before yesterday [31 May]. In fact—according to optimistic estimates and the program debated so far—it finds itself somewhere around the half-way stage.

Obviously, no one reckoned with such activity from the deputies, or even with the variety of the sometimes antagonistic opinions and views which are being put forth in the congress palace. The illusion of former unanimity dissolved right after the opening of the first session. True, at that time, during the resolution of fundamental procedural issues, the clear majority of deputies willing to approve each sensible proposal from the congress Presidium made itself known. But the results of the "mechanized" voting aroused the bitter protests of the more radically-tuned minority. Therefore, the Presidium chose a more democratic, albeit a much more complicated and lengthy method: to seek truth and acceptable compromises in the discussions; to endeavor for the harmonization of opinions; and only in cases when mutual concessions are not possible, to give the final word—again according to the laws of democracy—to the voice of the majority.

Besides this, the original intention did not, on the whole, work out—to concentrate right from the very beginning on the consideration of key problems of the present stage of political reform and of restructuring in general. The deputies brought to the Kremlin the very mixed demands of their voters. As mixed and as varied as the Soviet Union itself is varied. For example, different problems today agitate the populace of the Soviet Baltic region, in many respects, than those which agitate the peoples of Soviet Central Asia.

Is it at all possible to place them under a common denominator?

The report presented by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, attempted just this. It contained a sober evaluation of the situation, it set out the main directions of the state's domestic and foreign policy, and, at the same time, it opened up broad space for discussion on the topic of how to urgently resolve the most pressing tasks of restructuring.

And these are more than obvious. It is essential to improve the financial state of the country and the situation in the internal market, to increase food production, to accelerate housing construction, and to strengthen work discipline.

A strong social policy is not possible without a fundamental turnaround in the economy. But economic reform is marking time. Its concepts and fundamental principles are correct. However, effective mechanisms for their implementation continue to be missing.

Those who still believe in miracle cures also spoke from the congress platform. Allegedly, it is enough to break up the kolkhozes, parcel out the land to the farmers for them to use it forever, and the country will be fed in 2 or 3 years. Or: dissolve all the ministries and hand over the factories to the working collectives and there will immediately be a wealth of consumer goods on the market. Others blame the managing apparatus in general, and the party apparatus in particular, for everything. Others see a way out in immediate changes to the Constitution and the speedy adoption of new laws....

However, leftist, and also contradictory voices—calling for government by a firm hand—are not finding any conspicuous support at the congress. The overwhelming majority of deputies recognizes that it is impossible to accelerate social changes by skipping their inevitable stages. All the more, they do not agree with a return to the old system. They see no alternative to the policy of restructuring. They are discussing the forms and methods of its implementation.

The collective search for answers to the difficult, literally fateful, questions of the development of Soviet society is continuing. The knowledge that the whole country is following it with suspense—through a live television broadcast—increases the feeling of responsibility in the supreme USSR legislative body.

Adamec Delivers Speech to Ecology Ministers

AU0306185189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 May 89 p 1

["From the speech by Ladislav Adamec," CSSR premier, at the conference of environment ministers from seven states in Prague on 29 May: "An Important Step Taken"]

[Text] We are glad that in preparing this meeting of the representatives of seven neighboring states an important step has been jointly taken toward intensifying collaboration in this extremely significant sphere. The very fact that such a high-level meeting of the representatives of central European states is being held is a boon. This is the very first time in the entire 70-year history of independent Czechoslovakia that all its neighboring countries are meeting in this way. We have convened in the spirit of common goals, led by a single wish.

What is so extraordinary, so exceptional about this event? It is above all the fact that we, the inhabitants of central Europe, realize our commitment to preserve the irreplaceable natural and cultural values of this region. I do not want to revert to the past. Facts testify that our state territories are among the most threatened in Europe, and not just Europe. We know the dangers of an ecological catastrophe and express our determination to ward them off through joint efforts.

This alone is a most promising fact. However, words about willingness to cooperate must be followed by deeds. Recently I read about an interesting thought: There are people who observe and record what is happening; there are others who merely wonder about what is taking place; and then there are people who want to start changing the existing situation. I think that we belong to the last group.

Today it would not be enough to continue to convince each other of the significance of the issues under discussion. Today citizens want energetic, quick measures. It was with this aim in mind that the Czechoslovak Government decided to arrange a meeting of the government heads of our neighboring states. The important decisions confronting us require the active participation of persons with the necessary, full powers.

If we fail to make use of all the existing possibilities and accessible resources, if we proceed in isolation, each of us plowing his own furrow, then progress will be very slow both in our individual states and throughout central Europe. Such a course would be against our own interests. Actually, quite a lot has been done to resolve the issue of mutual information and cooperation. Like your own states, Czechoslovakia, too, has concluded many international agreements, has taken an active part in a number of conferences on ecology, and has signed bilateral treaties with the representatives of neighboring countries. However, it is not the number of activities, but the level of collaboration, the firm system, and the flexible, effective mechanism of multilateral mutual cooperation that are decisive.

We, too, have serious problems with the quality of our environment and we make no secret of the fact that we could eliminate them far more rapidly and effectively through closer cooperation with the neighboring countries. We are striving to follow a joint course, because, for example, air purity is not merely our own concern.

We are offering a proposal on closer cooperation, and we are not doing it with empty hands. I would like to brief you on certain specific forms of this cooperation and to promise the CSSR's active contribution to it. We do not seek unilateral advantages in these proposals. Our suggestions are an expression of our country's interest and of our awareness of our duty toward our neighbors. The suggestions are based on the specifics of our geographical position in the middle of the continent and on the possibilities ensuing from this; they concern many areas. Even the seemingly unimportant things cannot be neglected in matters of ecology. Still, it is unrealistic to do everything at once; one must start with one thing, and somebody must organize and coordinate what has been agreed on.

A concensus of opinion has been reached that it is essential to have regional cooperation in the mutual supply of information, and also many-sided assistance in preventing accidents and overcoming their consequences. Czechoslovakia is prepared to set up a joint assistance center in Prague. This international agency could closely cooperate with the world center planned within the UN framework. Our Center of Ecology Information, Education, and Enlightenment could also become part of it. We are counting on establishing it as part of the Institute of Applied Ecology and Ecotechnology attached to the Agriculture College in Prague and situated in Kostelec nad Cernymi lesy. The initial provisions for materials and staff have already been made.

We are willing to act as coordinators of the common course in the development of ecotechnology. We are offering our facilities, our technology, and our cadres, who are qualified experts on water purification. The transition of a considerable part of our military industry to civil production creates a scope for setting up common ecology production programs.

Economic relations show good prospects. We are about to found two joint enterprises with FRG firms for producing ecology equipment. We are willing to continue on the path we have embarked upon, even at a quicker rate. We are considering an even broader development of ecology engineering and other branches in the future. We are also prepared to assess other sectors and forms of cooperation according to the demands and suggestions of our partners.

Certain environmental problems will have to be assessed more broadly than merely from a regional viewpoint. It is essential to begin the cooperation in the central European area. However, we will probably find this first step insufficient. We do not want to isolate ourselves from the western, northern, or southern part of the continent, and I trust that this is also your own view. The participation and interest of the representatives of the UN European Economic Commission, of the European Community, and of the CEMA testify that we are beginning to implement the pan-European intention in practice from the very beginning of our effort.

I want to express the conviction that this conference will contribute to greater security in central Europe in the ecological sense, and thus to greater mutual trust as well. I assure the delegations that we will do everything to establish good cooperation along the borders of Warsaw Pact and NATO states also in the sphere of ecology. We see this as part of our effort to foster peaceful neighborly relations of mutual understanding and to promote an all-around expansion of contacts.

2 Jun Presidium Session Activities Reported

AU0706104489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jun 89 p 1

["Report from a CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session: "On the Principles for the Amendment to the Bill on the Protection of State, Economic, and Official Secrets; An Appraisal of the Work of Members and Candidate Members of the Party in the Czechoslovak Women's Union"]

[Text] Prague—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] discussed the preparations for the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session at its Friday [2 June] meeting.

It became acquainted with the principles of the amendment to the bill on the protection of state, economic, and official secrets. The proposed changes concern the majority of legal stipulations on the protection of state, economic, and official secrets and call for a fundamental re-evaluation of the directives and procedural regulations currently in force. At the same time, they create conditions for preventing an undesirable and groundless increase in the volume of classified information. For this reason, the requirement is also emphasized for a more precise definition of the concepts of state, economic, and official secrets, including the provision of mandatory norms for the creation of lists of classified information from individual central organs.

The Presidium discussed and appraised the work of members and candidate members of the party operating in the Czechoslovak Women's Union, especially in asserting the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, social restructuring, and the intensification of socialist democracy. It approved a CPCZ Central Committee delegation, headed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to attend the nationwide congress of the Czechoslovak Women's Union. The Czechoslovak Women's Union Congress is convened for 16 and 17 June.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed a report from the CSSR People's Control Committee on the outcome of the inquiry into the efficiency of the measures adopted to achieve the projected parameters in selected unutilized capacities and pronounced its agreement with the conclusions adopted by the CSSR Government on this inquiry.

It approved the participation of Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in a meeting of secretaries for economic issues from the central committees of communist and workers' parties of the CEMA member-countries, which will take place on 6 and 7 June in Berlin.

The Presidium made note of information on the course of the visit made by Georges Hawi, general secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party, to the CSSR on 15 to 17 May.

Prague Cites Polish Dailies on Election Results
LD0606230789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Poland—Candidates representing the Solidarity Citizens' Committee achieved considerable success in last Sunday's parliamentary elections, say central Polish dailies today. At the same time they point out that the second round of elections will have to be held in the majority of constituencies a week next Sunday because a large number of candidates have failed to gain the necessary simple majority of votes. The newspapers also point out that almost 40 percent of voters did not take part in the elections.

Delegation Studies IMF Operation in Washington
AU0606161289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "The CSSR and the IMF"]

[Text] Prague—Miroslav Pavel, director of the press department of the Office of the Government Presidium, replied to a question posed by CTK concerning the relationship of Czechoslovakia toward the International Monetary Fund:

A delegation of experts from the CSSR ministries of finance and foreign affairs and the Czechoslovak State Bank is currently in Washington, at the headquarters of the IMF, looking into the operation of the mechanics of this international organization and into the conditions for the activity of individual member states. These expert talks do not mean that preparatory discussions on the entry of the CSSR into the IMF have been initiated.

Urbanek Heads Delegation to Havana Conference
AU0706104889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak Communist Party Delegation to Havana"]

[Text] Prague—A delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], led by Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, departed on Sunday night to attend the conference of fraternal communist and workers parties of the socialist countries in Havana.

The conference agenda will consist of an exchange of experience in, and of views on, the party's organizational work and the further consolidation of the role played by communist and workers parties in the socialist society.

The delegation was seen off at Prague Airport by Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary.

Johanes Talks With Netherlands Foreign Minister
LD0706061289 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] The Hague, June 6 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes held talks here today with Hans Van den Broek, foreign minister of the Netherlands.

The two representatives evaluated the present level of bilateral relations, discussed the possibilities of their further development and exchanged opinions on the topical issues of international development.

Both of them voiced interest in the development of a dialogue between the two countries and expressed readiness to extend it. They expressed themselves in favour of the deepening of economic cooperation and stressed the necessity of a wider application of modern forms of cooperation, especially cooperation in production and joint ventures. They appreciated the experience gained in the work of a joint enterprise producing Avex video-recorders (Tesla Bratislava-Philips). They voiced the conviction that the prepared agreement on mutual support and protection of investments will help the further development of this form of cooperation.

Exchanging opinions on the present international situation, the ministers, regardless of the existing differences in attitudes and stands, agreed that despite continuing problems, positive tendencies are gradually being put through and it is necessary to do everything for them to become permanent.

Evaluating the Vienna talks, they voiced the hope that the initiatives submitted by the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the recent proposals of NATO countries create a good basis for achieving progress.

Jaromir Johanes voiced concern over the unwillingness of NATO countries to accept the idea of a nuclear-free Europe as well as over the efforts to modernize tactical nuclear weapons. He stressed the Warsaw Treaty proposal to immediately start talks on this type of weapons. Hans Van den Broek repeated the well-known NATO opinions defending the strategy of so-called nuclear deterrent.

Discussing the present state of cooperation in Europe, they paid attention to human dimension of the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Regardless of different opinions and attitudes of the two countries, the ministers stressed the usefulness of a concrete dialogue and discussed present experience of

Czechoslovakia and the Netherlands in the implementation of the mechanism set by the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting for the sphere of human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

Later today Hans Van den Broek gave an official dinner in honour of the Czechoslovak foreign minister.

Papers on Disagreements About Nuclear Program

AU0206183189

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 31 May on page 2 carries a 500-word "mer"-signed report on a press conference given by Stanislav Havel, chairman of the Czechoslovak Nuclear Energy Commission, and Jozef Keher, Federal Government commissioner for the construction of nuclear power stations, in Prague on 30 May on the CSSR nuclear program. The future of Czechoslovakia's nuclear program is also the subject of a 3,200-word article by Engineer Stanislav Havel, doctor of sciences, and Engineer Vaclav Stach, candidate of sciences, in Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 1 June on page 4, entitled "The Main Path in the Development of the Power Generating Industry," and of a 500-word CTK report on a joint session of the Federal Assembly's Planning and Budget Committees, carried by RUDE PRAVO on 1 June on page 2.

Reporting on Stanislav Havel's press conference, the MLADA FRONTA reporter notes that "S. Havel familiarized journalists with the great demands placed on the operators of our nuclear power stations and rejected fears of risks. He also expressed a critical opinion on some untrue pieces of information that have appeared in parts of the Austrian press."

The reporter goes on to say: "The MLADA FRONTA correspondent's question concerned the more general aspects of the plans of Czechoslovakia's nuclear power industry. According to some data, the investment cost of the construction of a nuclear power station in our country is three times higher than in the United States, which has the highest production costs of all Western countries. It arises from this and other facts that the contemplated program for the development of the nuclear power industry would 'devour' up to the year 2010 one-half of industrial investments and, consequently, also immense capacities and resources from other spheres of the economy. The forecasters' deduction from this is their fear that, if this trend is complied with, the ways toward the essential restructuring of our economy will be blocked. We were interested in S. Havel's position concerning this danger.

"S. Havel replied that, according to some criteria, our nuclear power stations are more expensive to build than Western ones and, according to other criteria, the costs are comparable. The costs are, aside from other factors, partly a result of our more conservative approach to passive protection. We use more concrete and steel and, consequently, construction is more labor-intensive. Despite this, it is necessary to see that electricity in nuclear power stations is generated at a lower cost than in conventional power stations. S. Havel also delivered his opinion on the conclusions of the comprehensive forecast up to the year 2010 drawn up by the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. He said that some data in it do not correspond to reality and that others are imprecise or derived only theoretically and impossible to prove technically. We do not, however, reject the study, he added. Let us only treat its conclusions as one of several solutions, put forward by one institute. We welcome the evolution of further similar documents, from the sum total of which a more objective view will crystallize, more objective with regard to the prospects of our nuclear power industry."

The Forecasting Institute's study is also mentioned in a 500-word CTK report on the 31 May joint meeting in Prague of the Federal Assembly's Planning and Budget Committees, carried by Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 1 June on page 4, under the headline "Economic Performance Is Declining." The relevant passage reads: "Replying to deputies' questions, CSSR First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban noted, among other things, that the construction of nuclear power stations primarily should contribute to a reduction in the mining of sulfurous brown coal, the burning of which is the cause of the most serious ecological problems today, and that the view that they are being built in order to export electricity is erroneous. Referring to the significance of studies by the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, he remarked that their contribution to the sorting out of views is undeniable but that decisions on specific economic measures fall to the State Planning Commission."

The article by Stanislav Havel and Vaclav Stach in the same issue of RUDE PRAVO deals with the contribution of nuclear power to the improvement of the atmosphere. The authors emphasize that, without nuclear power plants, emissions of sulfur dioxide on Czechoslovak territory would be higher by one-third in 1995 and by two-thirds in 2005 than they were in 1980 and that Czechoslovakia would therefore be unable to meet its international commitment to reduce sulfur dioxide emissions 30 percent. Without making any direct reference to the Forecasting Institute's study, Havel and Stach argue that countries with a high proportion of nuclear power (France, Belgium, Sweden, Finland) have low and stable energy costs, which contributes to the competitiveness of their products, has a positive impact on their balance of payments, and has helped them eliminate atmospheric pollution. The authors also contend that, in pursuing the reduction of sulfur dioxide emissions, "it would be more logical to accelerate the nuclear program" than to desulfurize coal-burning power stations, because, whereas the technology of nuclear power stations has been mastered in Czechoslovakia, the desulfurization of conventional power stations is still only being tested. They also point to the high cost of the desulfurization equipment (Kcs5 billion for the two units of the Tusimice II power

station, for example, which is 38 percent of the cost of one 1,000 megawatt unit of the Temelin nuclear power station), to the fact that the service life of desulfurization equipment is one-half that of nuclear power stations, and to the fact that the problem of the equally harmful nitrate emissions (which nuclear power stations would eliminate) remains unsolved. Havel and Stach say that they cite these arguments not to question the importance of desulfurization but because "one of the main arguments on which views about the need to slow down the construction of nuclear power stations rely is their investment cost or, rather, the strain in the balances of investment resources. It is becoming apparent that the alternative, an ecologically 'clean' production of electricity, requires approximately the same investments. At the same time, the 'cleanliness' of desulfurization is relative because, given an effectiveness of 90 percent, 10 percent of sulfur dioxide is still discharged into the atmosphere."

In conclusion, Havel and Stach deplore that the importance of preventing the "devastation" of the environment, which is an important contribution of nuclear power, "has so far been neglected when it came to specific decisions on the implementation of the nuclear program" and warn that any slowdown in the nuclear program would cause ecological damage.

Daily on Problems Faced by Socialist Countries
AU3105153889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 May 89 p 6

[Article by Alexander Belovic from Bratislava: "Some Issues of the Class Struggle in the Contemporary World; When Words Are at Loggerheads With Actions"]

[Excerpts] As long as the world is divided into capitalist and socialist countries, we cannot succumb to any illusions about the class adversary and the essence and objectives of the world bourgeoisie. [passage omitted]

Until the mid-1950's the stress was on eliminating socialism from the outside with arms (by superiority in nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction). Of late, the stress is on activating antisocialist forces within the socialist countries, on preparing and executing counterrevolutionary coups d'etat (Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968-69), on economically subverting a country, for example by organizing strikes (Poland since the beginning of the 1980's until now), on psychological warfare, and on other attempts to weaken the positions of the communist and workers parties in CEMA member-countries. This is happening with the active assistance of ideo-diversionary centers of the capitalist countries, frequently even with the participation of staff members of the diplomatic representations and mass information and propaganda media of those countries.

Our ideological and class adversaries at home and abroad have been paying particular attention to fomenting resistance against the socialist system in the ranks of the young generation (half of the Voice of America's air time focuses exclusively on young people), which is most succeptible to pseudoradicalism and is unable to discern the antisocialist and antipeople nature of the manipulators' endeavor. This, is attested to, for example, by the facts about the participation of Hungarian young people in the demonstrations against the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroproject, against the planned urbanization measures in Romania, by the active participation of Polish young people in strikes, in the recent anti-Soviet disturbances in Krakow, or in demonstrations at which there were calls for the physical elimination of communists, as well as the participation of some young people in the antistate demonstrations in Czechoslovakia in 1988 and in January 1989. How can these young people discern the difference between capitalism and socialism in the social and political sphere and be convinced that the Communists are the enemies of workers, farmers, and the working intelligentsia? This is nothing other than the manipulation of their minds. History, as well as the present, know many tragic instances of such manipulation. [passage omitted]

Despite the fact that more than 40 years have elapsed since the February victory of the Czechoslovak working people over reaction, we can assume that many people still live among us who are not in favor of building socialism. Under this category come, in particular, the former exploiters and their progeny, who cannot forget what socialism had deprived them of. To these groups we must also add some vestiges of the staffs of the capitalist state and economic apparatus, politicians who failed, theoreticians, and artists whose ambitions have not become fulfilled, some members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party who were expelled or struck from the party rolls in 1970, and some declasse social elements. Some of these people, acting under instructions from anticommunist centers, have been trying to organize antisocialist groups and form some sort of "opposition." They are being generously rewarded for their antisocialist activity from the funds of the special services of some imperialist countries, a matter that has also been borne out by data published in Bratislava PRAVDA of 15 January 1989.

A complex situation exists today, in Hungary, for example. This is a country which had a very tragic experience of counterrevolution in 1956. According to Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, at the Budapest aktiv of Communists at the end of September 1988, there has been an increase in the aggressiveness of the—not numerous, but all the more vociferous—forces of bourgeois renewal and counterrevolution, which have been discrediting the leadership with slogans about democracy and reform, and which want to accelerate processes in such a way as to make them uncontrollable at a certain stage. According to him, this is a class struggle in the full sense of the word, the outcome of which will depend on whether the party succeeds in regaining its lost self-confidence, winning the healthy forces over to its side, and, when

necessary, resolutely opposing hostile and counterrevolutionary forces. [passage omitted]

The complexity of the contemporary domestic political situation in the USSR is the result of, among other things, the persistence of some nationality problems and of problems connected with supplies to the population, especially of food.

All this shows that a class struggle is under way in the countries of the socialist community, a matter that gives rise to a certain concern among people dedicated to socialism—in their own country, as well as in the partner countries—about the fate of socialism, especially when sufficiently effective measures are not adopted to resolve the internal problems of development. [passage omitted]

The result of the class struggle in the countries of the socialist community depends, above all, to a considerable degree on the ability of the communist and workers parties of the CEMA member-countries to successfully resolve the existing problems of social and economic development of these countries, on enhancing the effectiveness of ideoeducational and ideological work, as well as on the adoption—in case of necessity—of more rigorous measures to defend the revolution. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze To Pay Official 'Friendship' Visit
LD0606173189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1441 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, will pay an official friendship visit to the GDR on 9 June 1989.

Commentary Criticizes Bush's Speech in Mainz
AU0606112889 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 3-4 Jun 89 p 5

[Axel Knack commentary: "Bush Forward and Bush Backward"]

[Text] Since he assumed office, one has not heard much from the U.S. President on the premises of his country's foreign policy. This week he caught up with a few things. In addition to the proposals on arms limitation and disarmament in Europe, the details of which have to be carefully studied but which can still be welcomed as a step in the right direction, the speech on the occasion of his visit to the FRG in the Rheingold Hall in Mainz last Wednesday [31 May] was one of them. With this speech, however, he took much rather a step backward in the wrong direction. It did not show any evidence of realpolitik insights into the international situation, nor did it show evidence of the fact that the U.S. President assesses the opportunities he has outside his sphere of action in a serious way.

The spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry was justified in describing the Mainz speech "as hardly conducive to promoting the international process of detente." One could also call it an attempt to revitalize the era of the Cold War, which has been overcome with such great effort. Bush's demands on the GDR culminated—in short—in the demand to eliminate our national border with West Berlin. Thus, Bush, like his predecessor, not only ignores historical and political realities in central Europe, but also the Helsinki Final Act, which was signed by the United States and which clearly defines the principle of the inviolability of borders.

Other passages of his speech, in which he issued dictates to the socialist states to change their political systems in the direction of capitalism, are presumptuous attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. No sovereign country can tolerate this, and neither can the GDR. Therefore our Foreign Ministry consistently rejects such presumptions.

There remains the hope that this speech, which was delivered in the style of the old way of thinking, was directed more at the media of his own country, which like to honor energetic cowboy talk with headlines. Europe, for its part, is interested in substantive international cooperation and there is no place here for language of this kind. Security and cooperation require a solid policy of all countries involved. They require mutual respect and prohibit interference in one's partner's affairs. The urgently necessary dialogue must not be endangered by boasting. It would be good for the world if the U.S. President, who has not been in office for long, were to take this into account in his future international activities.

Honecker Hails Kim Il-song on Treaty Anniversary
AU0506192589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Jun 89 p 1

[ND report: "Fraternal Relations Are Developing Comprehensively and Dynamically"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following congratulatory message to Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK president:

Esteemed Comrade Kim Il-song:

On the fifth anniversary of the signing of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the DPRK, I convey cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings from the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the government, and the people of the GDR to the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, the government, and the people of the DPRK, and you personally.

With the treaty on friendship and cooperation the indestructible friendship and revolutionary militant alliance between our parties, states, and peoples have been raised to a new level. On this basis and thanks to steadfast efforts by both sides, today relations between our countries are developing comprehensively and dynamically. With this, the GDR and the DPRK are making a valuable contribution to strengthening socialism and safeguarding world peace. In the future, too, the GDR will continue to make an active contribution to the continuous and mutually beneficial development of cooperation between our parties and states and will support the DPRK in its struggle for peace and detente on the Korean peninsula.

Dear Comrade Kim Il-song, please accept my best wishes for good health and creative energy in your responsible work.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Pozsgay To Establish New Political Movement

LD0606205689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Imre Pozsgay is to open a meeting tomorrow the purpose of which, according to our information, is the establishment of a new national political association, organization or movement.

In the past weeks, the need has risen several times and at several places to form an organization which would gather those Hungarian citizens—regardless of their party membership or their political stance—who want mutual consensus, [word indistinct] and peaceful transition and who are willing to take an active role in attaining this.

The organizers have invited more than 100 personalities for the founding session and it is expected that they are going to decide tomorrow on the organizational form to choose for the new political [word indistinct].

Workers' Militia Cuts, Reorganization Studied

LD0706015789 Budapest MTI in English 1904 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 6 (MTI)—The staff of the Workers' Militia will be reduced by 30 per cent by September. With respect to the future of the organization, a conception is being worked out which would make it possible for the Workers' Militia to operate as the voluntary complementary militia of the Hungarian People's Army—it was announced at the session of the Defence Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly, held on Tuesday in Budapest, in the Petofi barracks of the Danube flotilla.

Parliament should determine the direction of the government's activity, and even issues as, for instance the activity of the armed forces and bodies, considered 'delicate' in the past, cannot be excluded from this, it was stressed at the session.

According to MP Dezso Borcsok of Budapest, the Army is still thinking in the category of extensive development. In this context, the idea of creating a smaller, but better equipped and more efficient Hungarian Army was raised.

Laszlo Winkler (MP from Gyor-Sopron County) requested information about the Soviet barracks being vacated. Officials of the Ministry of Defence said that coordination work about the future of these facilities is still in progress. Most of them will be sold, as the Army intends to cover its already planned revenues of 1,000 million forints partly from these.

Pozsgay Interviewed by Radio Free Europe 24 May

AU0606114589 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 May 89 p 3

[Interview with MSZMP Politburo Member and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by unnamed Radio Free Europe correspondent in Budapest on 24 May: "The Next Parliamentary Elections Can Be Only of a Multiparty System"]

[Text] Imre Pozsgay gave an interview to Radio Free Europe in Budapest on 24 May which was broadcast on 27 May:

[Question] Mr Minister! At the general meeting held in Szeged on the occasion of the first national conference of the reform circles of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], an elderly lady said that "this Pozsgay is a nice fellow and what he says is good too, but, unfortunately, one cannot believe him because he is also a communist." I think this is not the first time that you hear such or similar things. Is your party not a burden for you? Is it not difficult for you when many people question your trustworthiness because of your party?

[Pozsgay] It is difficult now for everyone who is member of this party because the public regards it as a party that lost its prestige, a ruling party in times of crisis, and, to a certain extent, a party that has caused this crisis. At the same time, I also have to say that the greater part of my life has been connected to this party.

I believe that this organization can be changed and renewed, and then the public will perhaps understand my persistence and coexistence with the MSZMP, or whatever its name will be after its renewal. But I also understand the elderly lady who made such an observation in Szeged, as this was not the first time I heard this, even in the form of such observations like: "I would vote for you with both hands, but not for your party," and so on. One has to face such things today.

[Question] Is there anyone close to you or perhaps in your family through whom the people's voices and reactions to the government or party measures can reach you, like the voice of the elderly lady?

[Pozsgay] I could even say that our entire social structure is represented in my family or my close relatives, because all kinds of social groups are represented in my family, from scientists and intellectuals to honest skilled workers. This is both good and fortunate because I am living in a critical environment where people are not at all intimidated by my position, views, or thoughts, and constantly challenge me with their experiences and judge me in accordance with my ability to understand these experiences.

[Question] After this digression, let us go back to the original question, namely what continues to keep you in this party, you who can daily see in your family the mistakes this party has committed for decades?

[Pozsgay] Well, the hope that this party will become an organization capable of creating an efficient, just, and real national program while preserving all the things worthy of appreciation from its traditions, the part of this tradition connected with the European culture, and while making use, if nothing else, at least of the bureaucratic government experience that accompanies this ruling and leading role and state party position, because I am convinced that, without making use of all this, we would not be able to get rid of this crisis even by means of the best opposition or alternative party programs.

Stalinism Cannot Be Reformed?

[Question] We see a crisis not only in Hungary but everywhere in eastern central Europe and in the Soviet Union, where this system, this communist party is ruling. In your view, Mr Minister, does this mean that the communist idea has come to a crisis?

[Pozsgay] This is a crisis of Stalinism. It has become absolutely certain that this system cannot be reformed because it has failed and has proven inadequate to give the experience and feeling of freedom to people. This system is unable to create internal driving forces in the individuals and citizens to accept something noble, and this system destroyed solidarity among people and cooperation among producers.

Under such circumstances, the only decision we could make was that this entire Stalinist system should be discarded, complete with its ideology. I do not see the essence of this ideology in Marxism or in distorting Marxism, because it has nothing to do with Marxism. The way I see the essence of this ideology is that it created an authoritative and paternalistic regime in which the citizen should be kept on the most infantile level and treated as a subordinate, otherwise the citizen will not accept that there is an all-knowing and omnipotent leader or leading group that does not need justification because all its practice and knowledge includes everything the people need. Well, this concept, together with its Jacobinical method and its tendency toward distortion, terror, and violence should be eliminated from our way because this fits neither socialism nor the European political culture and the people's everyday needs.

A Power Vacuum

[Question] Mr Minister! What will happen to this party, your party, to which you continue to stick by all means? Now in Kecskement, and in Szeged last week, there was a lot of talk of a possible split in the party. Intellectuals who are close to you or to your views and political concepts—like Mihaly Bihari and Csaba Gombar—regard this split not only as inevitable but also necessary.

[Pozsgay] Indeed. Since February, when the Central Committee meeting dealt with the evaluation of the 1956 events and acknowledged the formulation of popular uprising, the image of a party split has been emerging either as a taboo and a threatening specter or as a desirable goal. I tried to rationalize this entire problem.

If I want to be honest to myself too, I will say that a split in the party is not something terrible. And nobody should threaten me with the risk of a party split if I express my opinion. Some people are projecting the specter of a party split to the party members to keep their mouths shut, stop arguing and keep together, avoid threatening the so-called party unity, and so on.

This immobility characterized the entire MSZMP and the communist movement, and for precisely those reasons. On this basis, I do not accept the party split as a danger and risk. I repeat, I have analyzed the entire issue and come to the conclusion that, here and now, a split in the party would not be a real split but a disintegration, the disintegration of the MSZMP and its becoming inadequate to govern, and meanwhile, there would be no government factors capable of dealing with this situation. In a slightly pragmatic way, we called this a power vacuum in Kecskemet.

[Question] In Szeged, a reform circle member asked whether the MSZMP could renew itself with a general secretary like the incumbent, namely someone who continued the mistaken policy of his predecessor in the past year, and I mean here the economic policy, and I mean here the Bos-Nagymaros issue as a permanent example—as the final decision on the construction of the river barrage was made in his time, as well as the acceleration of construction. Can there be a renewal with Karoly Grosz?

[Pozsgay] I regard the fact that there are no longer circles of figures and positions beyond criticism in this party and in the Hungarian public, thanks to openness and an increase in publicity and to the reorganization of the entire structure of publicity, as a new phenomenon and a sign of progress and renewal. Today, the activity of any politician—be that the party general secretary or the premier—is open to criticism. Both I and the Western press regard this as progress.

I think the demand for a party congress was so strong because the party members would like to give the greatest legitimacy to the leading forces that govern the party. I do not want to settle this with a Dodonian answer because I would like to add something for the sake of justice. Regarding the political problems of the past year,

I suspect that no one would have been able to manage this period without making mistakes and being above criticism. I hope this will also be considered in preparing the congress.

Honesty Is Valuable

[Question] Let me stay with this problem for a while. One could read in the Western press and in the press agency reports that, at your latest news conference in Vienna, you did not exclude the possibility of Karoly Grosz' removal at the party conference or party congress in the fall.

[Pozsgay] I presented this in the same spirit and in the same way as I have just done here, but this risk and this chance is inherent in every important decision. Besides, I mentioned this as a possibility in principle by starting from the premise that a movement is now emerging in the party in which the members want to determine the party's policy and its leading figures. I repeat, I regard this as such a possibility in principle.

[Question] Let us still remain with the personnel issues. Speaking about the problems surrounding yourself, people find it peculiar that there is a contradiction between your popularity in society and your popularity within the party leadership.

[Pozsgay] I can live very well with this both intellectually and spiritually, precisely by being able to feel that the people appreciate me and society follows my activity and appreciates my consistency. This consistency does not mean that I would stubbornly stick even to my mistakes, but if I make a mistake, I will not hesitate to admit it. Besides, I think that honesty has become very valuable in a depreciated policy and in a country drifting toward a crisis.

I think that if I consider all these things here and I enjoy the support of the public, I will be able to face the smaller problem that the members of some narrow or broader bodies might not think the same as the rest of the country, irrespective now of myself. The party apparatus, its elected bodies, and their various members who might now have reservations concerning myself will also rationalize the situation by overcoming their emotional prejudices, and will also say that one who is good for the people is good for the party.

[Question] Mr Minister! We have already touched a little the problem of a party split. This was a permanent issue at the meeting of the MSZMP reform circles in Szeged. This is a fictitious question, but I will ask it nevertheless: Would you accept the position of general secretary of a reform communist party separated from the MSZMP, something that—referring again to the meeting in Szeged—many people already regard as an accomplished fact?

[Pozsgay] If is difficult to answer this question because I did not prepare for this but, as I expressed my views above, I did not change my views in this respect. However, precisely in connection with this, I can say that, in that case, this party would no longer be called a reform communist party but would be a party belonging to the concept of European socialism, no matter how the current party would change into this new organization, either uniformly or by way of a party split.

I consider a party to be efficient and successful only if it can adjust to the people and to the European way of thinking, and this does not emerge from the communist experiences that are sticking to abstract ideas, but from a way of European socialist thinking which can be found in an Italian or French social party or in a Swedish, Austrian, or German social democratic party, with the addition that the party for which I struggle would be a party strongly committed to our nation and would not forget that it has to find its roots in the Hungarian nation and work out some kind of long-term program by living together with this nation.

[Question] There is talk today that, if this issue comes forward in the fall, you would replace Karoly Grosz as the MSZMP general secretary. People also say that it would be a good thing to have you as the next president of this country, if the institution of the president of the Republic is established.

[Pozsgay] The same dilemma, namely that—without naming the positions now—I am also part of this organization. If I am part of this, this organization should also use me and decide which position I can fulfill most efficiently and most successfully. At the same time, I cannot deny the fact that I find it extremely gratifying that the people and society appreciate me. In this case, I would gladly accept a position—I repeat, no matter what they would call it—which gives me opportunities for such broad areas of contact? a system of contacts, relations, and forms of contact in which I will never run the risk of being in contradiction with this nation.

Nineteenth Century Models

[Question] Society here and in the West consider you a statesman. Thus, I believe, my question is justified when I ask you about your political idols?

[Pozsgay] I tried to shape some kind of model from figures of the Hungarian history and the life of various Hungarian statesmen, and this again has nothing to do with the current situation, because, if I go deep inside myself, with my activity and "tribunitian" mission, I could imagine myself somewhere between Kossuth and Petofi, but the current needs of this country would rather demand figures like Szechenyi and Deak; and thus, all the most representative figures of the reform and revolutionary movements of the 19th century together are my idols, as if a single personality could somehow be shaped from all these figures.

[Question] A transition from dictatorship to democracy is under way in Hungary now. Parliamentary elections will be the next great and important step. What do you think these elections will be like?

[Pozsgay] We agreed that there would be a multiparty election. These elections should be free, something that also has risks for the current ruling party.

However, I would like to say—and I also mentioned this in Szeged—there can be no party that would be so stupid as to prepare for defeat from the outset. This would also mean a violation of the rules of the game. I will add, however, that I could not support any election tricks and cheap tactics of making use of the others' weakness, unpreparedness, identity problems and search for a basis. Therefore, I can imagine the preparation for elections only in the form of a settlement in which organizations with the most authentic social and popular programs decide together to run in the elections.

[Question] In conclusion, allow me a very personal question. How does your family handle the fact that your time is fully engaged in a daily schedule from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. and that you are running from one end of the country to the other, taking trips abroad, or just coming back from one of your trips?

[Pozsgay] I do not have much free time, and I always regard free time as an accident and a gift, but this has been so ever since my childhood. Therefore, lack of time does not cause me anxiety and agony. If it did, I would constantly be standing on my head. My family has become used to this and demonstrated great understanding and patience.

I have been living this lifestyle with my wife for 33 years, and this has been a great burden for her particularly in the last 10-15 years. In spite of this, I have two grown-up children and grandchildren too. I am surrounded by a warmth and family environment that makes it seem as though we are constantly and naturally in contact with each other.

Pozsgay Interviewed on Recent FRG Visit

AU0506132189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, MSZMP Politburo Member and Minister of State, by Bonn Correspondent Sandor Gyori in Bonn; date not given: "The FRG Appreciates the Changes in Hungary"]

[Text] Concluding his talks in Bonn, Imre Pozsgay received our correspondent and answered his questions.

[Gyori] What was the reason for your current visit?

[Pozsgay] Over 6 months ago, I received an invitation from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation to participate in a conference on the issue of reform in Central-Eastern Europe, primarily in Poland, Hungary, and the CSSR. Obviously, the professional representatives of the countries in question were also present at the meeting, including political scientists, economists, and social scientists from all over the world. I decided to use this occasion to take advantage of other occasions, namely the 25th anniversary of the European Academy in West Berlin and another invitation from the Catholic Academy in Hamburg. All this activity, I believe, represents in itself a goodwill trip for Hungary. I tried to do my best to give an accurate report on everything that is happening in Hungary and to obtain support for our reforms by convincing the participants that the importance of these reform efforts goes beyond Hungary's borders and that these reforms affect cooperation in Europe, the all-European prospects, and even the security of Europe.

[Gyori] Has the fact that your trip has taken place simultaneously with national domestic policy events not affected your visit?

[Pozsgay] Let me mention the fact that we agreed upon this visit 6 months ago. One cannot subordinate one's international contacts and responsibilities to spontaneously decided body meetings, because one could then gain the reputation as being unreliable. I do not think that our nation's prestige would increase if our politicians and social scientists were regarded as unreliable. Besides, I dared to take this trip because my political convictions and positions are very well known at home. I also saw to it that my opinions on the issues under debate were not left hidden from various meetings.

[Gyori] Exactly 6 months have passed since your last visit to the FRG. Since then, events have accelerated and deep changes have taken place in Hungary. How did your negotiating partners, including the highest ranking FRG leaders, evaluate Hungary's current situation?

[Pozsgay] Without exception, everyone I met spoke in positive terms about the events in Hungary, and declared their readiness to support these events. Chancellor Kohl also pointed out the importance of the Hungarian reform efforts and the comprehensive changes under way in Hungarian political life, changes for which the entire democratic world has great appreciation. To a large extent, in the wake of the FRG initiatives, the various European organizations have recognized the importance of Hungarian reform in world politics and their responsibility for this reform. Starting from this, they promised support on economic, political, and cultural policy levels alike. The heads of various parties offered partnership with the parties emerging in Hungary. This includes not only the supply of experience but also the intention to increase their international cooperation. In other words, the decisive political forces in the FRG are ready to help the Hungarian political parties in their appearance on the international stage and in obtaining knowledge and information. Great care was taken by everyone to make sure that this offer was not interpreted as some kind of

interference in Hungarian internal affairs. This support will be provided in the way and to the extent required by the citizens and political organizations of Hungary.

[Gyori] To what extent would the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] be affected by this?

[Pozsgay] I think this would not bother the MSZMP. On the contrary, the MSZMP does not want to function as a monolithic party which exercises monopolistic power, because, by doing this, it would not fit into the new social conditions prevailing in Hungary. The MSZMP has things to share, and Hungarian society expects initiatives from the MSZMP in this direction. It acknowledges any support given to parties and political movements, support coming from social and party organizations, and not from governments. In addition, I think the MSZMP will continue to have natural and organic contacts with its communist fraternal parties and with the European social democracies. The appearance of new parties should not upset these relations. We also talked about all these things during our discussion with SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel.

[Gyori] What direct effects could your current series of talks have on our bilateral economic relations?

[Pozsgay] This visit gave a great impetus to the readiness for economic cooperation and contacts. The country which has prepared itself to accept such results will be able to make use of this development. This does not only depend on the minister of state or the politician, but also on those in charge of analyzing the value and importance of these relations.

[Gyori] The National Assembly is currently discussing the fate of the Nagymaros project. How do the officials in Bonn feel about the possible halting of this large-scale investment project?

[Pozsgay] Public opinion and most parties in the FRG agree with the courage of the Hungarian Government and its decision to suspend the Nagymaros project.

Joint Friendship Society Established With FRG

LD0306200989 Budapest MTI in English 1516 GMT 3 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 3 (MTI)—The Hungary-FRG Friendship Society has been set up in Budapest with the aim of promoting many-sided relations between the two peoples.

It will operate as a national organization with professional and local sections and a publishing office which plans to bring out a bilingual journal.

Ferenc Glatz, minister of education and culture, was elected as president and Hmabuch Vendel, senior staff member of Hungarian radio, as general secretary of the society.

Ivanyi Leaves for Berlin Economic Conference

LD0506103189 Budapest MTI in English 0905 GMT 5 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—Pal Ivanyi, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, left for Berlin on Monday.

Mr Ivanyi is to participate at the economic policy conference of the communist and workers' parties of the CEMA countries, to be held in Berlin from June 6-7.

Conference delegates will discuss issues relating to ways of increasing the efficiency of economic and technoscientific cooperation through better utilization of results, including questions on the remodelling of CEMA cooperation.

Netherlands Defense Minister Concludes Trip

PM0606142689 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 27 May 89 p 7

[Theo Klein dispatch: "Bolkestein Much Impressed by His Hungarian Hosts"]

[Text] Budapest—There were even tears yesterday on the departure of the Netherlands delegation from Budapest. The wife of Hungarian Defense Minister Karpati could not help crying when she embraced Femke Boersma, the wife of Defense Minister Bolkestein, for the last time. "We have probably never received such a cordial reception. Even when I was foreign trade minister it never happened that my host spent 3 whole days with me," Bolkestein said.

According to the Netherlands minister, the attention Karpati paid to his guests showed the "importance" of the visit. Bolkestein, undoubtedly the greatest NATO supporter in the Lubbers cabinet, was very impressed by the Hungarians' openness. And by their firm intention to carry through political and economic reforms. Bolkestein: "This visit has strengthened my conviction that for the Hungarians too there is no going back."

The fears of the Foreign Ministry in The Hague that Bolkestein would behave like a foreign minister in Hungary in the light of the upcoming Netherlands elections seemed well founded in the last few days. Bolkestein did not limit himself to military affairs in Hungary. Even in the concluding talks with President Nemeth, political questions, such as the multi-party system the Hungarians want and the approach by Budapest to the EEC, were prominent.

Bolkestein said in a statement after the talks: "Mr Nemeth stressed that a change in the economic model (toward a free market—DE VOLKSKRANT editor's

note) should not be confused with a change of the socialist system." The caretaker defense minister is convinced that Hungary will remain a member of the Warsaw Pact.

His faith in the peace-loving intentions of the Hungarians has increased, the minister said shortly before his departure from Budapest. Will this have an effect on his political posture? Bolkestein: "Yes, indeed." In what way? "I cannot say as yet. Do not forget that Hungary is just a small country. Ultimately its role in the Warsaw Pact is decided by the Soviet Union."

In order to prevent such statements Foreign Minister Van den Broek would have preferred Bolkestein to have shown more restraint during his visit. The Foreign Ministry did everything it could to put the visit by the rival liberal minister on the back burner. The ministry even prevented Bolkestein's military aircraft from remaining in Budapest for the 3 days of his visit. Ostensibly "for security reasons" it flew straight back to Soesterberg Tuesday [23 May].

Only on Thursday evening was the crew allowed to leave for the Hungarian capital again to pick up Bolkestein and his retinue. The program drawn up by the Hungarian Air Force for the Dutch crew of the F-27 thus fell through at the last minute.

In Hungary Bolkestein did not pass up a single opportunity to "let his liberal noises be heard." The advantages of the free market and democracy were fully emphasized at news conferences. "Oh," the minister said playing his remarks down, "I was simply voicing my views. A Socialist or a Christian Democrat minister would have done the same." And about his role as "foreign minister" he said: "Defense is really a subsidiary part of foreign affairs. The dividing line cannot be drawn so very clearly."

Defense Minister Karpati on Army Reform Efforts

AU0506121389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 May 89 p 7

[Interview with Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati by Laszlo Szabo; date, place not given: "Society and the Army—Ferenc Karpati on Military Efforts"]

[Text] A conference of Army heads was held in the Defense Ministry over the weekend last week. Politburo Member and Premier Miklos Nemeth participated in and took the floor at the conference. The public has had an opportunity to acquaint itself in detail with the premier's speech. However, the press only published excerpts from Ferenc Karpati's speech, although today one is far from indifferent to the way the Army—particularly its official members—evaluates the changes taking place in society, the extent to which the Army support the reforms, the Army's belief in political renewal, and its plans and its formulation of future ideas. We asked Ferenc Karpati about these issues. Our first question referred to the effects of the current political processes on the Army.

Military Reform Efforts

[Karpati] Obviously, military people are also dealing with the issues that, so to speak, are now in the air. For example, the development of the Army of the future and its deliberate formation is an everyday issue. And so is everything that is connected with the state guidance and supervision of the Army in a socialist constitutional state under alliance conditions. Obviously, there is no need to give a particular explanation for this because the Army is part of society and lives together with society, and thus their problems are mostly identical. The officers corps—the backbone of the Army—has declared its belief in reform for some time, and what is even more important, it is acting and thinking in this spirit. The signs of this attitude emerged very clearly among the soldiers as early as at last year's party conference. I would like to point out here that the roots of this attitude go back further than that. If you remember, our reform efforts, directed at the time mainly at more opening and strengthening the natural contacts between the Army and society, were all mentioned in the interview I had given to NEPSZABADSAG about 2 years ago. The leadership of our Army introduced elements aimed at radically simplifying and easing the life of young soldiers, elements that were unparalleled in the armies of the Warsaw Pact 2 years ago.

Then, the need for a comprehensive reorganization further strengthened in our Army too, and therefore, we unconditionally support the social and economic reforms. As I have said, we ourselves were initiators of these reforms. We have taken measures that humanized military service and increased savings in material and manpower, and also increased the efficiency of our manpower. In many respects, we initiated the modification of the Defense Law, and we are the creative force, rather than the obstacles, in introducing an alternative military service.

[Szabo] How many professional soldiers have left the party?

[Karpati] The Army is a large organization and there has always been fluctuation among party members. There has been an increase in the number of departures nowadays. However, I think that nothing and nobody could attack the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] within the Army, in spite of the debates going on in the Army.

[Szabo] We are also aware that the Central Committee position on a multiparty system raised tense debates in the Army's party committee. The changes in the communique on the party committee session seemed to refer to some confusion in the Army's leadership. What is your opinion about this?

[Karpati] There is no confusion whatsoever in the Army's leadership. Views confront each other and debates are going on in the whole of our society, and I do not see anything special in this. Naturally, views differ on such a fundamental issue as the shifting to a multiparty system, mainly on what to expect and what the conditions will be in multiparty system; should only the MSZMP remain in the Army, or should other parties also be represented in the Army? Should the MSZMP members who work in the Army register themselves at their place of residence? I could continue the questions. After all, one can understand that there are debates on such a fundamental issue. In connection with this, we are dealing with the task of developing the Army's political institutions, also considering the conditions of a multiparty system.

As is well known, 80 percent of our officers are members of the MSZMP. Therefore, I find it natural that we are expecting a way out of our current problems from the MSZMP, we find the initiatives of this party necessary, and we regard the guidelines of this party as authentic for development. However, we are confused in our thinking by the occasional insecurity, division, and inconsistence noticeable in the party leadership. We are for a renewal within the party, for democracy, freedom of platforms, and for free intellectual debates. However, we are concerned about the danger that the aforementioned internal insecurity could break up the strength of the MSZMP.

Although not simultaneously or without pains, most of our officers have understood that we also need to sincerely face the past. They consider it necessary to break with the Stalinist model and its practice, and they believe that all the serious consequences of this model should also be eliminated from the Army.

Disturbing Considerations

[Szabo] The possibility that the Army is considering a solution similar to that in Poland in 1981—something that, understandably, also projected the image and fear of the consequences to the people—led to great debates in our society. In the presence of the premier, you declared that the Army was in favor of reform and it had no intention whatsoever to take over power. Would you give us details about this?

[Karpati] I personally, and, I think also the professional staff of our Army are disturbed by these considerations. One can only guess what could motivate such considerations. I would like to register the reactions. One: Such rumors lead to nervousness and bad feeling among people. Two: Even if not on a wide level, these rumors have an unfavorable effect on the evaluation of our Army. To say nothing of the fact that, willingly or unwillingly, these rumors also project the specter of a serious tragedy, a tragedy that should never occur. Therefore, we also do all we can to avoid such a tragedy. I say with full responsibility that we have no plan, concept, or intention to interfere with arms into the political processes. It is vital for us to see the implementation of a social and economic reform as soon as possible, and the creation of a new general consensus. It is also vital to implement all this only by applying democratic means. Thus, anyone who clatters about a military takeover wants to frighten the people and turn them against their Army. Of course, in addition to guaranteeing Hungary's sovereignty, it is also our task to defend the constitutional and legal order in the country. However, one should not confuse this with a military takeover. At least, rational people do not confuse these things.

[Szabo] Our public continues to be concerned about the military budget. I presume this is also a central issue in the Defense Ministry, because this could affect the bases of your upkeep and development. What is your opinion about the new budget cuts?

[Karpati] We know that the economy is facing serious problems. We also have to contribute to solving these problems and we have to manage our economy in a way to be able to really help. We have to accept our budget cut in order to give our country's economy a respite and create resources for the initial steps. Perhaps few people know that this budget cut that affects the Defense Ministry is not the first such cut in recent years. Our budget has already been cut by 1 billion forints this year, and, as you know, further cuts will be implemented in accordance with the government decision. However, this cannot force the Army to drop under its functional limits. I can say with full responsibility that—by mobilizing all our resources—we are ready and able to fulfill our basic mission, to carry out our defense tasks. True, we have given up the purchase of a considerable amount of technical means. However, we are particularly careful to make sure that these budget cuts do not act to the detriment of our soldiers' living and working conditions; namely that we do not reduce, but at least maintain, the current supply of provisions to those who honestly fulfill their tasks of defending our homeland. However, we cannot give up development and advancement. We have started working out our concepts referring to the development of the Army of the future. Besides, the recent conference of Army leaders focused precisely on these issues.

Nine Percent Reduction

[Szabo] In this situation, even if every reform effort is successful, you still need a long time before you can count on an increase in your budget. Therefore, I think the plans should go hand in hand with a reduction in personnel, because only a smaller Army can be maintained from a smaller budget. What is the opinion of the Army leadership about this?

[Karpati] We have already announced a troop reduction of about 9 percent by the end of 1990, together with the reduction of armaments. Basically, this has been made

possible by the positive results in the process of military confidence and security building in Europe. We are convinced that this process will continue and increase, and opportunities for further troop reduction will emerge as a result of the Vienna disarmament talks, among other things. The way we see it, and our premier has confirmed this, we will have to create a smaller, but more modern Army within the Warsaw Pact, in coordination with our allies. Within this, we must have our own reliable air force and a ground force that is more up-to-date in its structure, armament, and training, a more defense-oriented Army that can defend Hungary's sovereignty and, simultaneously, fulfill our alliance obligations. We must increase the professional training and educational level of our officers corps, because this is the first requirement among the quality requirements. According to our plans, the location [diszlokacio] and level of peacetime personnel will be different from the present one, so that it will be proportionally divided all over the country. Among other things, this will be an advantage both as regards the acceptance of new conscripts and as regards the reserves. We want to make use of the reserves only in the most essential cases and for the most essential time. It is too early to speak about concrete figures and percentages. I can say, however, that we are preparing these plans in such a way that we can start implementing them in the near future.

Army Colonel Janza Details Defense Expenditure

LD0506132289 Budapest MTI in English
1220 GMT 5 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 5, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Currently defence expenditures account for 2 per cent of Hungary's GDP, the smallest in Europe, said a top army official Colonel Karoly Janza in a press statement.

On the strength of the budget cut programme approved by parliament last week, state support to the armed forces has been cut from 63.826 billion to 59.766 billion forints. Direct defence expenditures have been cut by 2.7 billion forints, an official of the Ministry of Defence disclosed to Econews.

In December, the parliament approved a military budget of 45.5 billion forints, with 37.752 billion forints to be spent directly on defence and 6.148 billion on non-defence purposes. The Army itself will have to raise 1.6 billion forints. On its own authority the government cut the armed forces budget allocation by 1 billion forints earlier, and with 2.7 billion forints withdrawn now, the Army is left with no more than 34.052 billion.

Compared with the figure projected for 1989 in the 1986-1990 economic plan, military expenditures have already been reduced by 15 billion forints, or 23 per cent. In four years 47 billion forints' state budget allocation has been cancelled, against the original plan.

The dwindling finances of the Army are marred further by inflation. Consequently, the Army has to reduce stocks, and hold fewer military exercises involving less men and equipment.

Ministry of Defence calculations show the budget will save no more than 40 forints on each 100 forints withdrawn from defence because the radical cut in military production involves not only loss of jobs but also of taxes. The Ministry of Defence is not in a position to honour damage claims accrued from terminated contracts, and consequently those damages will have to be paid from the state budget.

It would take additional investment to create a smaller but more efficient military potential, said Colonel Janza, but the Army has to cancel orders and stop running projects because it needs every penny to finance overheads.

Observers say if the Hungarian Army wants to keep abreast of technological developments, it will have to reduce its numbers by 30-40 per cent. This is the only way to establish a sound 60:40 proportion of maintenance and development.

Currently the Hungarian Army numbers about 100,000.

Democratic Forum Urges Government To Resign

LD0306210289 Budapest MTI in English
1750 GMT 3 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 3 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum is to turn into a political party late this summer, Acting President Zoltan Biro stated at the forum's national conference in Tatabanya on Saturday.

In his keynote lecture on current political issues, Mr Biro expressed the view that political and economic conditions in Hungary are approaching the lowest point. It is becoming increasingly clear, he said, that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is unable to find a way out by itself. At the same time, there is the growing recognition—irrespective of party membership and political affiliation—that it is impossible to solve the economic crisis without rearranging the political scene. However, none of the current political parties or groupings can be the sole organizers of this process, as this is the first time in decades that no external power threatens or influences the country.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum calls for bringing forward the parliamentary elections, because in its view only a new capable parliament and a coalitional government are able to overcome the difficulties. Accordingly, the forum maintains that the government should resign by December 1 at the latest. In the interest of smooth social transformation, the forum demands a satisfactory election law with guarantees.

Speaking about the June 16 funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates, Mr Biro appealed to all citizens, parties and independent organizations who feel responsibility for the country and the people, to see that the day becomes the symbol, as proposed by the government, of political and moral justice, reverence and national reconciliation.

Medgyessy Meets With 'Alternative Organizations'
LD0306062989 Budapest MTI in English
2254 GMT 2 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 2 (MTI)—Informative discussions were held on Friday in parliament between the government and representatives of some alternative organisations.

The dialogue was initiated by Peter Medgyessy, the deputy prime minister, at the government's proposal.

Representatives of the government initiated the meeting in order to be acquainted with the economic plans of the opposition organisations. Decisions to be made by the government in the near future will determine economic policy, and everyone is responsible for these decisions in the wake of the coming elections, it was stressed.

A peculiar vacuum had evolved in the country: The single-party system no longer functions in its traditional way, but the institutional conditions and mechanism of the multi-party system has not yet emerged. In this situation, the government can be a power which can tries to represent integrity, but this could only be achieved if it receives necessary backing for implementing its programme. [sentence as received]

Horvath Views Police Role, Need For Changes
LD0306203189 Budapest MTI in English
1758 GMT 3 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 3 (MTI)—The police are not the superior authority of citizens, but equal citizens entrusted with a special duty, Istvan Horvath, Hungarian minister of the interior, stated at the national conference of patrols in Budapest on Saturday.

Mr Horvath pointed out that the current socio-political changes also directly affect the Interior Ministry, indicating the need for radical changes in organization and attitude. He said that the ministry is to be gradually transformed from a police ministry into a national adminstrative authority which wishes to actively participate in creating a law state.

In conclusion, the minister drew attention to the necessity of setting up a more effective control system through organizational changes to guarantee the complete observance of civic rights during investigations and other police procedures.

Gypsies Found Party, Outline 'Manifesto'
LD0306200789 Budapest MTI in English
1649 GMT 3 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 3 (MTI)—The Party of Hungarian Gypsies was formed in Budapest on Saturday to represent the interests of some 700,000 Hungarian gypsies.

The party manifesto calls for "the rapid elimination of backwardness due to centuries of oppression and the involvement of the gypsy population in the process of social restructuring. The aim is to achieve that all gypsy children complete the eight-year primary school and continue their studies in increasing numbers."

The crime rate was a central theme of the debate. It was mentioned that gypsies account for 52 percent of offenders.

The Party of Hungarian Gypsies wants to enter the elections and delegate an adequate number of MPs to parliament.

Communique Urges Cancellation of PRC Visits

LD0606205989 Warsaw PAP in English
1357 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—The Consular Department of the Polish Foreign Ministry has issued a communique recommending Poles to cancel all planned trips to People's China in the nearest future in connection with the current situation there.

Polish Students Leave Beijing

LD0606172389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Excerpts] In Beijing, the Army has again been shooting at people for no reason. [passage omitted]

Polish students in Beijing are returning by air to Poland, and some of them are staying at the Polish diplomatic base.

TRYBUNA LUDU Reports on Beijing Massacre

AU0706120689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Jun 89 pp 1, 7

[Report by Krystyna Szelestowska, Beijing permanent correspondent: "Tiananmen—A Scene of Bloody Clashes"]

[Text] On Sunday night, Army units entered the center of Beijing. Tanks and armored vehicles demolished the barricades made out of buses and cars, and drove into Tiananmen Square, where several thousand students were holding a sit-in strike. Thick volleys of shots were fired. Cars went up in flames. Soldiers were lynched. Many of them are killed and wounded.

No Pole suffered any injuries. Most of our students will be transferred from their colleges to our embassy.

According to eye witnesses, it was probably the 27th Army from Shanxi Province that entered Beijing from several directions, first of all from the West. It is difficult to determine whether the residents attacked the soldiers first, or whether the soldiers fired first. The students occupying the square—there were also four intellectuals on hunger strike—were ordered to leave it. Some of them, singing the "Internationale," ordered the rest to evacuate the square, but the rest, no one knows how many, stayed put. The soldiers attacked them.

Divergent reports on the number of dead and wounded are circulating the city. At 1300 Beijing time, there was talk of several hundred dead and 5,000 wounded. There is no official information. What is known, however, is that most of the deaths occurred on the square itself and in the streets leading to it, where the population blocked the army's path. Doctors who treated victims refuse to divulge any figures.

Since Saturday night, television had been broadcasting communiques and appeals by the military state of emergency command not to go out into the streets and not to venture near Tiananmen Square, but they were ignored by the population.

An official communique by the military command says that both the armed forces and the civilian population suffered losses. On the television news, a long communique was read on the subject of attacks on military units in the process of implementing the state of emergency. Soldiers were beaten and insulted and robbed of their weapons, and vehicles were destroyed. The communique said that 31 military vehicles, including two armored transporters, were destroyed, but this seems an underestimate because at a crossroads not from where I live are several dozen military trucks with punctured tires and wrecked engines.

On Sunday night, the military state of emergency command issued another communique saying that "a handful of people, prompted by disgraceful motives," was attacking soldiers and officers who were performing their duties, throwing bricks and stones at them, setting fire to vehicles, beating up soldiers, and spreading rumors about the situation in the capital. The unrest that has dominated Beijing for over 1 month because of a "handful of people" has turned into a counterrevolutionary riot, said the communique. The forces implementing the "state of emergency" employed firm measures to quell this riot. When Army units entered Tiananmen Square on Sunday morning, the students occupying it left. At many crossroads, "people who do not understand the situation and are acting under the influence of a handful of others" erected barricades, the communique said. Military units "dispersed demonstrators" in several places in the city. It was admitted that the crowds had lynched some soldiers. The communique claims that several dozen vehicles, including 31 army and 23 police vehicles, 2 armored transporters, and 31 buses, were destroyed. It also said that weapons and ammunition were stolen from military vehicles. In the eastern part of the city, a military vehicle was set on fire, together with the soldiers inside it. All five of them died, because the crowd made sure they stayed inside. About 1,000 soldiers and policemen were injured, said the communique, which concluded by saying that the military action as part of the state of emergency had met with the population's support and understanding.

As I write these words, I can still hear shots being fired in Tiananmen Square and Changan Avenue—the Avenue of Eternal Peace—3.5 km away. The city is paralyzed. The people are numbed with shock, anger, and grief. On Sunday evening, the television news said: The unrest that existed in Beijing for over 1 and ½ months because of a handful of people has turned into counterrevolutionary riots.

On Sunday, I spent over 3 hours in Tiananmen Square and Changan Avenue. I went down the city's main street,

which looks as if a tornado has hit it. Everywhere there are broken barriers, wrecked buses, bricks and stones, and damaged military vehicles. Many people go quietly by on their bicycles.

There were three buses still burning in the square. Near the Beijing Hotel I saw a pool of fresh blood and many shoes lost by their owners.

Barriers separate the square from the city. Beyond the barriers is "no man's land," and after that—the army. Every now and then, a crowd of people approaches the barrier, shouting: Get out of here! Two volleys were fired in my presence.

I returned home safe and sound. There is still electricity and water, but transportation has shut down and all the restaurants and shops are closed.

What has happened in Beijing is a national tragedy for all Chinese. It is difficult to say right now who has made an error and how things will develop. One thing is sure. It will take a long time for the psychological wounds to heal.

Further on Beijing Massacre

AU0706120489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jun 89 p 7

[Untitled commentary signed 'Z.S.']

[Text] The drama in the center of Beijing possesses many dimensions. Most of all, it is a tragedy of people who were killed or wounded. But it is also a drama of the policy of reform and openness toward the world which China has implemented for 10 years. As a result of these changes, it has become possible to express one's views and voice one's demands in public in the PRC. The adopted program calls for a curb on the restrictions which, as the Chinese Communist Party leadership has explained, stem from tradition and history.

Of course there are those who reject the path of gradual reforms and demand their acceleration. But the tragedy was not caused by a dispute on this subject. It was caused by an undermining of the basis of calm and public order in the streets of Beijing.

The Beijing drama is a domestic affair of China. However, it is also a drama for this great nation's friends, for all those who observe the changes in China with positive feelings. Regardless of from which side the provocation came and on which side the first deaths occurred, this was an act that has harmed the healing processes in China.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Comments

AU0706133189 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Jun 89 p 6

[Tadeusz Bardzo commentary: "Hundreds Killed in the Chinese Capital"]

[Text] The world is monitoring the development of events in China with baited breath. That shots were fired on Tiananmen Square is a fact. The Chinese authorities adopted the most dramatic way of resolving a many week-old deadlock which displayed their helplessness and the internal divisions in the Beijing leadership. In fact there had been warnings about a possible use of force in Beijing. Several days earlier, contacts between foreign correspondents and Chinese had been restricted, and the state of emergency had been imposed with greater determination in eight districts of Beijing. The authority of the present authorities hangs in the balance, and not only in Beijing, but throughout China.

However, the truth is that it is difficult to consider what happened in Tiananmen Square as ordinary riots. The student unrest turned into a mass protest by the population, calling for democracy, an end to corruption, and more freedom of speech. With a few exceptions, this was not aimed against the present system at all. Its purpose was to improve the system. It was not aimed against the authorities. It was meant to be a show of support for the reformists among the authorities.

For years, people associated China with rapid economic changes. But the balance between economic restructuring and political reforms was upset. One reason for this is the far-reaching personification of the authorities, a kind of autocratism reaching far back into the very beginnings of Chinese statehood. Of course, China must preserve its identity. But, entering a modern world and already enjoying political, economic, cultural, and scientific links with it, the country cannot reject proposals concerning the country's political modernization, which does not affect its identity in any way. This is especially true if the proposals come from inside the country. The shots fired in Tiananmen Square are proof that changes in China are overdue.

Election Results; Solidarity To Follow Agreement

LD0606174189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1605 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Solidarity gave a news conference in the hall of the Great Theater in Warsaw today. This is what Professor Bronislaw Geremek said:

[Begin recording] According to our information, the National List on which there are 35 names from the government coalition, has not found sufficient support. As a result of this I would like to state that Solidarity is fully prepared to abide by the agreement signed at the roundtable discussion. We consider that that agreement deals with the principles of cooperation in the cause of

the restructuring of the situation in Poland, of avoiding an economic catastrophe, in the cause of political and economic reforms. That agreement also anticipates that 65 percent of the seats in a Sejm comprising 460 deputies are guaranteed for the government-coalition side. We are totally prepared to abide by the promise contained in the roundtable decisions, so that in the future Sejm 65 percent of the 460 seats are taken by the government-coalition side. [end recording]

Solidarity Gives Briefing

LD0606214589 Warsaw PAP in English 1921 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—The reports from different voivodships show that Solidarity found a broad support for its list as regards candidates for both Sejm deputies and senators, Bronislaw Geremek told a press conference given here today by the election office of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee.

I would like to stress that this also means support for a certain philosophy of action pursued by Solidarity and its chairman Lech Walesa, one based on compromise and dialogue with the authorities, he continued.

This means support for Solidarity which participated in the round table process. Thereby its (round table) philosophy and agreement signed at it find their confirmation in the outcome of the elections, he said.

Next Geremek said that according to reports received by the Citizens' Committee the national list had not found sufficient support. I would like to state that Solidarity is ready to fully abide by the round table agreement, he added.

We are of the opinion that it (agreement) concerns the principles of cooperation aimed to restructure the situation in this country, counteract an economic catastrophe and work for political and economic reforms. This agreement also provides for 65 percent of seats in the 460-strong Sejm to be guaranteed for the coalition-government side, Geremek went on to say.

We are fully ready to keep the promise included in roundtable settlements to keep this proportion in the future Sejm. We trust that also the other side will observe the signed accords and that the elections will serve the implementation of principles settled two months ago, he said.

In reply to journalists' recurrent questions about the national list, Janusz Onyszkiewicz stated that the way unmanned seats would be filled remained an open issue. In a way, it is not our problem since it refers to seats that were granted to the broadly understood ruling coalition, and we do not claim them. A possible solution to the problem must surely be in line with the constitution, he added.

In addition to this, Geremek stated: This problem may be solved in tune with the law, and we are ready to accept every solution which will realize the round table accords. We signed those documents and respect the principle: pacta sunt servanda. We accept the principle that the coalition-government side has 65 percent of seats in the Sejm and Solidarity-35 percent.

In reply to another question Geremek said that Solidarity came out for free elections and hoped that they would be free and democratic in four years, that they would not be covered by any political contract.

At present the roundtable agreement opens a chance for Poland. In our view we have won the election campaign and Poland has won it. What is important now is realization of the roundtable contract, he remarked.

Onyszkiewicz denied the existence of a contradiction between the rejection of Wojciech Jaruzelski's offer to form a grand post-election coalition and Solidarity assurances that it will constructively act for reforms.

As he stated, all candidates for deputies and senators proposed by the Solidarity Citizens' Committee had run in the elections as the opposition. If we started to ponder upon the possibility of joining the government, we would break those assurances, he added.

The announcement that one does not join the government does not mean that cooperation and co-deciding cannot take pace in solving immediate, more detailed issues. Parliamentary practice in democratic countries is familiar with the situations when both the government and opposition make decisions together on various issues. In my opinion this practice will be continued in Poland at present, Onyszkiewicz said.

I would like to add that I am under impression that Gen. Jaruzelski's words on a grand coalition have not always been well understood by Western public opinion. One can understand a coalition as a government one but also as an alliance of political and social forces. In other words, one can speak about a parliamentary coalition, he went on to say.

In our opinion a proposal has been forwarded to set up a coalition of social forces that want to conduct activities geared towards reforms, restructuring and combatting the crisis. We are ready for such a coalition, Onyszkiewicz stated.

Government, Solidarity Meet

LD0606172789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] A working meeting took place today between representatives of the coalition side represented by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, Stanislaw Ciosek, and Andrzej Gdula, and representatives of the opposition-Solidarity side represented by Prof Bronislaw Geremek, Editor

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and also a church representative, Father Alojzy Orszulik. During the meeting a desire to implement the roundtable decisions was confirmed. The initial election results were also discussed, as was preparations for a meeting of the Coordinating Coalition [as heard] on 9 June this year.

Jaruzelski Chairs Meeting

LD0606173889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Politburo today met with the voivodship committee first secretaries and assessed the socio-political situation in Poland. Preliminary discussion on the first round of elections to the Sejm and Senate were held. Preparations for the second round of elections were examined. The Politburo heard information on the situation in the voivodship party organizations and on the mood in some professional and social milieux. The meeting was chaired by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Official Results Expected

LD0606171389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] The announcement of the official results of the voting and results of the elections may be expected late Wednesday [7 June] evening at the earliest or even Thursday morning.

'Run-Off' Elections 18 June

LD0606200189 Warsaw PAP in English 1550 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—In spite of the fact that elections' official returns have not been released yet by the State Electoral Commission, a run-off is more than probable. It will take place on June 18.

Electors will cast votes for the second time only in those electoral districts in which not all Sejm and Senate seats were manned on June 4. There will be no run-off elections abroad and on Polish ships nor will there be another round of voting for candidates from the national list.

Only two top candidates who gained the biggest number of votes in their constituency will compete in a run-off for a seat in the Sejm.

In a run-off to the Senate the number of candidates cannot be bigger than a double number of seats that remained to be manned. These will be top two runners who won the biggest or equal number of votes. A seat in the Sejm or Senate may be won in the run-off by a simple majority of votes.

Orzechowski Remarks on Elections

LD0706020489 Warsaw PAP in English 2142 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—Political Bureau Member, PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Secretary Marian Orzechowski made a statement on the Sunday elections on Polish radio, Channel 3. Excerpts:

"According to the information that we have, votes for the Solidarity candidates represent a decisive majority. However not all has been determined yet as some Senate seats and a considerable part of deputies' mandates will be subject to runoff. But what was determined today and what we know unofficially and only in part is of clear significance that would be hard to reject.

"In my interpretation, Polish society wants very deep changes, deep reforms. As it gives a confidence credit to the Solidarity and Walesa, society counts on them for being the very force that will promote reforms and be conducive to them.

"However, the 62 percent of voters who turned up at the polling stations should be interpreted as confirmation of social approval of the results of the roundtable and its whole philosophy, as well as of deep conviction of the voters that neither of the political forces can lead the country out of the crisis all by itself, and that they have to complement each other to some extent and to support each other in the issues of key significance for the country.

"The results that we know are surely bitter for my party and they must make it think deeply, reflect and draw all conclusions notwithstanding how deep and far-fetching they will be. I am positive that the party will draw these conclusions, time will come for this after the second round of the elections.

"I hope that both sides will behave with far-reaching moderation, that our party will draw conclusions adopted at the 10th plenum, with the need of faster, deeper and more resolute implementation of the settlements of the 10th plenum concerning the party, and that it will become aware of the seriousness of the situation and simply will consolidate to a greater extent.

"I think that many awakened to the results of the elections, as they imagined them in quite a different way," Orzechowski concluded.

Statistical Analysis of Candidate Affiliations

26000522 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 21, 27 May 89 p 3

[Article by Marek Henzler: "They Have Won Primary Elections"]

[Text] At the last elections to the Sejm in 1985, voters voiced the greatest confidence in Ryszard Szurkowski. He sought a mandate on the national ticket, and he

received 20,052,415 valid votes (98.12 percent). This likable bicyclist was known for frequently riding in the leader's tee shirt, and at the head of the pack. In the Sejm, he most frequently pedaled close to the car with the sign "End of Race." Were we to ask today the erstwhile electors of R. Szurkowski about what we should be grateful to him for now, after almost 4 years of serving as a deputy, maybe one in a thousand would be able to indicate something... There were many more of such male deputies, and females as well.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the issue of persons who are going to serve in the Sejm and the Senate is now the topic of the day. The current electoral law has not just opened the doors to the National Assembly for the opposition, which undoubtedly is the greatest innovation, but also has made it possible for persons independent of any political forces to run for deputies and senators, while, in turn, forcing the political forces seeking seats in the parliament to look for and nominate candidates deserving to be supported due to their professionalism, morality, stated views, or previously gained social trust.

Four years ago, 819 candidates on district tickets and 50 on the national ticket sought 460 Sejm seats. This year, they are contested by 35 candidates on the national ticket and over 1,200 on the district tickets. About 500 persons are seeking 100 seats in the Senate. Who are these people who have recognized that they are so well-prepared, experienced, tried in various tests, and have social support so powerful that they will be in a position to lead Poland to a better future? Can we judge what the personal and political composition of the new National Assembly is going to be on the basis of the lists of these persons, who by 10 May were registered by voivodship and district electoral commissions, received recognition at local conventions, or secured 3,000 signatures, and thus sort of won primary elections?

Not Much Is Known

As a result of the political contract signed at the roundtable, the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party], which in the 9th term had 245 deputy seats, will restrict its holdings to 156 mandates, to which 17 PZPR deputies from the national ticket will be added, but only if the results of voting are favorable.

Six hundred and ninety-two persons have been nominated to district tickets. Not too much can be learned about them at the Central Committee. It is known that people between 30 and 60 account for about 95 percent of them; 60 percent are leading cadres. Among them, there are about 80 farmers, about 40 workers, about 50 research associates, almost 30 lawyers, and 40 economists. It is not known how many women there are, or how many of them are full-time PZPR functionaries.

Even less is known about PZPR Senate candidates, except for their total number (186). It is also not known how many PZPR members have registered as candidates to the Sejm and to the Senate without the support of voivodship party echelons, just submitting to the election commissions lists with the required number of signatures. It is known, however, that about 460 party candidates to the Sejm have also collected at least 3,000 signatures, though the election law did not require this. This lack of exact data is explained by the fact that the current campaign is not managed from the top; it is organized by voivodship committees which are using differing election tactics. This is the cost of democracy, which the party must also incur now. More will be known right after the first round of elections, but is it not going to be too late by then...

More information on party candidates may be obtained in voivodship newspapers, and directly at the voivodship committees.

Names of eight members of the Politburo may be found on the national election ticket (Wladyslaw Baka, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stanislaw Ciosek, Jozef Czyrek, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Alfred Miodowicz, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, and Florian Siwicki). One of the heads of Central Committee departments (Edward Szymanski) is on this ticket too. Two other heads of departments are seeking Senate seats: Maciej Lubczynski in Kielce, and Janusz Basiak in Tarnobrzeg (previously, they were first secretaries of voivodship committees in these localities). Two Central Committee secretaries are playing for the same stakes: Leszek Miller in Skierniewice, and Zbigniew Michalek in Opole.

I have found the names of 11 PZPR Voivodship Committee secretaries on the lists of Senate and Sejm candidates published to date. The following are running for the Senate: Antoni Raczka (Nowy Sacz), Ryszard Jan Kurylczuk (Slupsk), Krystian Luczak (Wloclawek), as well as Wiktor Kinecki (Gorzow), though he is not endorsed by his echelon, because at the convention he withdrew his candidacy; however, later he submitted it to the election commission "on his own."

Jozef Gajewicz (Krakow), Mieczyslaw Czerniawski (Lomza), Janusz Kubasiewicz (Warsaw), Jerzy Golaczynski (Jelenia Gora), Stanislaw Habczyk (Bielsko Biala), Marian Wysocki (Zamosc), and Stanislaw Kolasa (Piotrkow) are seeking deputy mandates. These individuals have secured the support of the party electorate in their voivodships. Now, a confrontation between the opinion of PZPR electors, and the opinion of all voters in a given voivodship is going to be interesting.

The names of personalities from the government also appeared on the lists of candidates. The following ministers are seeking Senate seats: Mieczyslaw Wilczek (Siedlce), Dominik Jastrzebski (Lomza), Aleksander Kwasniewski (Koszalin), and Aleksander Krawczuk (Krakow). There are also two deputy ministers, Edward

Brzostowski (Tarnow) and Jozef Musiol (Katowice, the candidate, however, being from the SD [Democratic Party]). Three party member-voivods also want to become senators: Adam Wojciechowski (Przemysl), Zbigniew Rosinski (Pila), and Jerzy Jedykiewicz (Gdansk). Deputy Prime Minister Ireneusz Sekula and Minister [of Land Development and Construction] Bogumil Ferensztajn (Katowice) are seeking deputy seats.

Some of the former party and state functionaries are also running in the elections. Former CC Secretary Henryk Bednarski wants to become a senator from Bydgoszcz, former voivod Jerzy Kolodziejski wants to become one from Gdansk, and former Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Kopec the one from Walbrzych. The following want to become deputies: in Katowice, former Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner; in Legnica, former First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee Jerzy Wilk (currently, deputy chairman of the CKKR [Central Control and Auditing Commission]); in Gdansk, former member of the Politburo Jan Labecki, who will compete with former First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee Tadeusz Fiszbach (currently, a councillor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who has collected about 6,000 signatures, and nominated his candidacy without the support of the Gdansk Voivodship Committee). Among ZSL [United Peasant Party] Senate candidates, we can also find the name of former Minister of Health Care Miroslaw Cybulka (Bialystok).

Among the candidates announced, there are also 15 career officers. Along with Minister [of National Defense] F. Siwicki on the national ticket, the following generals are, among others, candidates to the Sejm: Antoni Jasinski (Wroclaw), Mieczyslaw Michalik (Elblag), Antoni Walczak (Szczecin), Col Aleksander Wasik (Przemysl—SD member), Capt Grzegorz Bies (Warsaw—non-party member), as well as Rear Adm Piotr Kolodziejczyk (Gdansk).

Generals Roman Paszkowski (Warsaw), Tadeusz Szacilo (Suwalki), Miroslaw Hermaszewski (Lublin), and Jozef Kuropieska (Radom), as well as employees of the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs]: Militia Gen Stanislaw Biczysko (Olsztyn), commandant of the MSW officers school in Szczytno, and Gen of Firefighting Andrzej Stefanowski (Walbrzych) are seeking Senate seats.

He Was Not Interned

In the new Sejm, the Peasant Party members will hold 67 seats, and, in addition, nine seats on the national ticket—a total of 67 mandates, or 30 fewer than in the term now coming to an end. Over 600 candidates to the Sejm and the Senate were nominated at gmina and regional meetings of the ZSL aktiv. From among them, 217 candidate deputies and 73 candidate senators were elected at the plenums of Voivodship Committees, as a rule, by secret ballot.

Within voivodships, from two to seven candidates have been endorsed, depending on the election tactics, and also on the balance of forces in voivodship organizations. Also, about 20 "independent" candidates for the Sejm (who nonetheless carry ZSL membership cards), and about 10 Senate candidates are in the running, who are starting out without the support of the voivodship echelon of the ZSL. Among them is, for example, deputy in the current term from Siedlce Bozena Kuc. However, as they assume in the central echelon of the ZSL, there also are people who carry ZSL membership cards, but actually are in sympathy with rural Solidarity, or are working to reactivate the PSL [Polish Peasant Party].

Who are the ZSL candidates? Representatives of the central apparatus of the party, several functionaries discharging their responsibilities on a volunteer basis, as well as Prof Mikolaj Kozakiewicz are on the national ticket. There are only 12 women among 217 candidate deputies on the district tickets, which is regretted (only three among Senate candidates!), and 10 persons under the age of 30. Eighty-two individual farmers, 32 employees of rural cooperatives and agricultural circles, 12 teachers and 13 research associates, five physicians and eight veterinarians, 34 administration employees, only seven lawyers, and 18 full-time ZSL political functionaries (including seven voivodship chairmen) are seeking deputy seats.

Among those endorsed for the Senate, there are 19 individual farmers, seven physicians, 13 teachers and research associates (including Maria Lopatowska), four lawyers, and 13 political functionaries (including 10 Voivodship Committee chairmen). Despite the announcement of ZSL Main Committee Chairman Roman Malinowski that the results of voting on the candidacies of voivodship committee chairmen would be an instructive and consequential indicator of their true influence in the voivodships, a total of [only] 17 of them are running for the seats of deputies or senators.

Piotr Chojnacki, chairman of the ZSL Voivodship Committee in Konin, previously a judge of the Voivodship Court, is going after the votes in an unconventional manner. On his election poster, under his family picture and next to the message on what his objectives are, he also wrote: "He was not interned, but saved many from being interned, or brought about setting them free sooner..."

Out of 106 current deputies, 32 started out in the fight for seats. Surveys of the popularity of candidates are expected to be carried out in some districts after 20 May, perhaps with the help of the CBOS [Center for Public Opinion Research], but at the expense of the ZSL and those others so inclined from the coalition. If it turns out that their popularity does not transcend the lines of the gmina, it will be suggested that such candidates withdraw.

Every party of the coalition is going to the first round of the elections with its own election platform, and its own candidates. In turn, during the second round, elections to the senate, they will bet on those who will have received the most votes in the first round of elections. The election headquarters of the ZSL believes that their party will get at least 15 seats in the Senate, and, if the going is good, maybe 20.

"Yes" to Coalition, "No" to Supremacy

In the 9th term of the Sejm, the Democratic Party was represented by 35 deputies. The political contract signed at the roundtable allotted the SD only 24 seats, complemented by three on the national ticket. The SD has to fight for Senate seats itself. This is part of the reason why Chairman of the [SD] Central Committee Jerzy Jozwiak told his party colleagues at the 2nd Plenum that the consequences of June elections "are so tremendous for the future of our party that they call for the maximum concentration of our efforts. I will say it straightforwardly—we absolutely cannot afford to lose this one (...). This is where the fate of the party as an authentic, credible, independent political force is going to be decided."

Seventy-eight candidates, including six women, are seeking 27 ZSL deputy seats; 11 candidates have announced outside SD echelons. It is going to be most difficult to get a seat in Poznan, where as many as seven candidates are running. Ten deputies in the current term are seeking re-election.

On the Senate side, 63 SD members are seeking a seat. In five voivodships, including those as large as Poznan and Wroclaw, the SD has already suffered a defeat, since no candidates were fielded there.

The SD press has revealed the backstage mechanics of the election of three SD members to the national ticket at the 2nd SD Central Committee Plenum. The Central Committee Presidium suggested the candidacies of Jerzy Jozwiak, SD CC chairman, Jozef Szawiec, the expected chairman of the SD Delegates Club in the new Sejm, and Kazimierz Modzelewski, chairman of the National Council of Crafts, and a deputy in the current term. At that time, Mieczyslaw Jakubowski, among others, was nominated from the floor, and he found more proponents in the course of secret balloting than K. Modzelewski.

The name of Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, until recently SD CC chairman, was also put in nomination, to which Krzysztof Zareba, the voivod of Gdansk, objected, saying: "The attempt to place colleague Mlynczak on the central ticket does not fit the methods he has used himself. (...) If memory serves, Colleague Mlynczak has already served five terms in the Sejm. Are there people in the SD who hold a monopoly on representation? We hear that those who have lost at the 15th Congress are already 'surrounding the bridgeheads.' Let us not allow ourselves to be manipulated." Due to the lack of consent by T. W. Mlynczak to be a candidate, his candidacy was withdrawn.

Who Will They Support?

The PAX [Lay Catholics] Association will have 10 seats in the new Sejm (including three on the national ticket), as many as it has thus far. The PAX announced two candidates for every one of the seven mandates in the districts; so, in principle, all PAX deputies should be known after the first round of elections. From among the current deputies, only Wincenty Lewandowski, secretary of state in the Ministry of Finance and deputy from Szczecin, is not running, because the State Electoral Commission has "moved" the PAX seat from Szczecin to Torun at the last moment. In the remaining districts, the fight is definitely going to be interesting, because, as a rule, every "old" deputy has a new countercandidate.

There is not a single woman among the PAX candidates to the Sejm; journalists, full-time PAX functionaries, and directors of United Economic Groups are the best represented professional group. Janusz Stefanowicz, until recently the ambassador in Paris, is running for deputy in Torun, and Bonawentura Ziemba, the only PAX deputy voivod, in Lublin.

Twelve persons, including one woman, are running for Senate seats. Proceeding from a realistic evaluation of the forces of the association in individual voivodships, the PAX has accepted the principle that in places where there are mandates [reserved] for PAX deputies Senate candidates will not be fielded. The most difficult task goes to Edward Wrobel, chairman of the PAX OW [Voivodship Chapter] in Lomza, where former Chairman of the PAX Association Ryszard Reiff is seeking a Senate seat, however, on the Solidarity ticket. Who are the members of PAX going to vote for in the voivodships in which not one of them is seeking a Senate seat? The OW chairman in Slupsk admitted in a local weekly that over there they would support the candidacy of Jan Ryszard Kurylczuk, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

Political Creed

The Solidarity Civic Committee was the first from among all political forces taking part in this year's elections to present its slate of candidates. Despite many complaints made at the roundtable about the pace of this year's campaign, candidates of the committee have been known for a month now. We have reported their nominations in POLITYKA. Now let us try to sketch their collective portrait.

There are 261 of them, as many as there are seats in the Senate and mandates in the Sejm for non-party members. There are only 21 women among them, and the age of the candidates ranges between 25 and 81. Almost one-half of them, especially those running for the Sejm, are between 31 and 45.

There are only 10 workers on the ticket of the committee. Representatives of the intelligentsia, especially of the free professions, and individual farmers (35 persons) dominate. What leaps at you is a large group of scientists, including 22 professors, almost 50 engineers, 35 lawyers, 20 journalists and columnists. Also, there are 16 economists, 14 teachers, and 13 employees of the health care service. Also, there is a teacher of religion.

Representatives of many factions of the increasingly pluralistic Polish opposition may be found among the candidates of the Civic Committee. There are veterans of fighting the people's power in the 1940's and 1950's, people who were co-creators of the KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers] and Catholic opposition. There are people in whose political biographies you might read about activities in legal and illegal organizations, in the Human and Civil Rights Movement, Movement of Young Poland, PPS [Polish Socialist Party], PSL [Polish Peasant Party], Confederation of Independent Poland, movement "Freedom and Peace," NZS [Independent Association of Students], Congress of Liberals, Social Resistance Committee, Club of Political Thought "Dziekania," Clubs of Catholic Intellectuals, and other new political clubs and associations. About 100 candidates have been jailed or interned for their opposition activities to date; almost one-half of the candidate lawyers are attorneys who became known as defenders in political trials.

At present, all of these people are associated with Solidarity and proclaim their support for the policy of Lech Walesa. One-third of the candidates are affiliated with the structures of the Catholic Church or the organizations sponsored by it (the Social Council of the Primate, commissions of the Episcopate, Clubs of Catholic Intellectuals, ministry to vocational groups, charitable institutions, and so forth). Also, the group of candidate-functionaries of employee councils, as well as functionaries of new economic organizations (associations) is well represented.

Many citizens are also running for Senate seats, and the 35 percent of Sejm seats allocated to the non-party members, who do not belong to any clubs or associations, or else they do belong, but these clubs and associations are not represented in the Solidarity Civic Committee, or the latter are represented there to an insufficient degree, as their members see it.

Most of such candidates are affiliated with the KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland] (16 deputy candidates and 5 Senate candidates), the Christian-Democratic Club (five Sejm candidates), Movement of Free Democrats (two), the Union of Real Politics (one Senate candidate), the Orange Alternative (one Senate candidate), and the Young Poland Movement (one). There are candidates fielded by the Solidarity factions competing with Lech Walesa (at least two). It may be that there are more such candidates, but not all of the tickets are already known, and not all of the candidates are already stating their full political creed publicly.

There are many candidates nominated by various social organizations, by the unions belonging to the OPZZ [National Trade Union Compact]; there even are two Polish Catholic priests (Zielona Gora and Katowice). Finally, there are representatives of various national minorities.

From among major non-legalized political groups, the following have not fielded their candidates, and are calling for a complete or partial ("vote for Solidarity only") election boycott: the PPS—Democratic Revolution, Federation of Fighting Young People, Alternative Society Movement, or our homegrown anarchists, "Fighting Solidarity," Polish Independence Party, and Working Group of the Solidarity National Committee.

In these elections, we have a broad spectrum of political colors represented by candidates with names known and unknown. There are people who want to do much, or something, for the country, people with accomplishments in economic activities, who want to make their presence known in political life as well, literary and screen "stars." On this occasion, some recalled their native localities, and they are running there capitalizing on family sentiments.

It is apparent even now that the new Sejm, and in particular Senate, are going to be a place where absolutely new faces will appear. Most of the current deputies are not running. Not only fewer PZPR, ZSL, and SD members will take deputy seats, but also fewer women and workers.

In the coming days and weeks, we can expect a still greater political pick-up. The fourth of June is drawing closer. The fight for the votes of electors is on. The camp of the governing coalition is competing with the Solidarity Civic Committee, and with the opponents of the agreement signed at the roundtable. The Solidarity Civic Committee is fighting the candidates of the government coalition, and independent opposition candidates outside the committee. Non-party member candidates independent of the two sides are watching the rivalry of the two largest camps, and trying to get something for themselves by haggling. All of this gives us barely a foretaste of what is in store for us as soon as the next election.

Ciosek Queried On Election Campaign Process

AU0606142489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 June 89 p 2

[Interview with Stanislaw Ciosek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, by Zenon Kulej: "We Are Making This Revolution"—place, date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Kulej] The election campaign conducted by "Solidarity" has often been criticized as irrational, playing on emotions....

[Ciosek] The way the election campaign has been run is a very broad subject. First, I would like to state that the election posters we see on the streets are not a true reflection of our society.

[Kulej] It sounds as if you are trying to make excuses in case of defeat.

[Ciosek] No. The preelection polls show that the majority of the voters think of themselves as in the 'center', and do not identify with "Solidarity" or the coalition. The political situation, however, has developed in such a way as to give an impression of a dichotomy in society, which does not reflect the spirit of the "roundtable."

[Kulej] To listen to "Solidarity" propagandists one would think society was fully behind "Solidarity".

[Ciosek] Precisely. That is why I find this aspect very worrying. How is one to react to these totalitarian tendencies which have appeared?

[Kulej] The feature of contested elections is the elimination....

[Ciosek] Yes, but when for example, one hears calls to cross out the names from the national list then this becomes confrontation.

[Kulej] Why have we not seen more use of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] symbol in this election campaign?

[Ciosek] We did not use organizational symbols in this election campaign. We put our faith in our candidates. This campaign has as its aim the promotion of talented, capable politicians and members of our party and of the coalition, who have been well prepared for such tasks. We wanted the talented people of the party to win and not the party symbol or its organizational seal. This is what we understand to be in the interest of Poland and the PZPR. Please bear in mind that it was not us who called for opposition names to be crossed off the ballots. We have repeatedly said choose the best candidate. Poland needs the best candidates. I think that this best reflects our patriotic and party understanding of the aim of this election campaign. I hope that the propriety with which we have conducted ourselves during this campaign will convince the sensible voter. The aggressive calls to cross out names of all but 'their' candidates will no doubt find a ready echo in those who prefer aggression, namely the extremists. We are counting on intelligent people. Totalitarianism and intolerance are not in the Polish nature. I consider that we have to trust the wisdom of our electorate, and that the totalitarian and aggressive calls thrust on us by street propaganda, for the election of only 'their' candidates, will be ignored.

[Kulej] You are a candidate in these elections. There are however, comrades who may wish you ill, because for years you have regularly appeared in the headlines....

[Ciosek] There were no headlines when I was still a student and then a youth activist. My name first appeared in the papers in 1980 when I became minister for trade unions, and when the social conflict erupted. That was the beginning of the conflict. Today, I believe we are approaching the end of this conflict. It is but one episode in the history of contemporary Poland. I see nothing wrong in trying to participate in it. One thing I can say; I have always stated my views clearly, and I have equally clearly argued with the opposing views.

[Kulej] I think that here it's a case of "Ciosek always lands on his feet."

[Ciosek] Is that a bad thing to say about a politician? Would they rather prefer those who always had setbacks?

[Kulej] Setbacks seem to have become endemic to us....

[Ciosek] Then it is high time that we all, not only politicians but all members of the party, lifted our heads, shrugged off the legacy of the past, and began to believe in the possibility of success. After all, we initiated the process of reform. One well-known opposition activist, talking about us, has stated: "They are the ones making this revolution. We have merely jumped on the bandwagon." Absolutely. We are the ones making this revolution, and I believe in its success. Poland and the Poles need results.

Artur Bodnar Queried on Election Campaign Rules

PM0506085489 Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNI in Polish 2 May 89 p 4

[Interview with Prof Artur Bodnar, director of Warsaw University Institute of Political Sciences and government adviser during the recent roundtable talks, by Marek Sobiecki; date, place not given]

[Text] [Sobiecki] We have ahead of us the first proper elections to take place in Poland for over 40 years, instead of the accustomed "plebiscite-type voting" that was supposedly appropriate to the socialist system. But

our legislative regulations tell us little about the principles which should govern an electoral campaign. Are we not, by any chance, about to witness an electoral political "free-for-all"?

[Bodnar] Of course not. Let me remind you that the opposition delegates who took part in the roundtable debate gave us assurances that the opposition would participate in public life following the principles of respect for national raison d'etat and acceptance of an evolutionary reconstruction of social relations in the economy, political life, and the life of the state. The opposition recognizes that the approaching elections should not be conducted in a confrontational manner. Naturally, our side is bound by the same principle. This, in turn, involves a mutual agreement on the rules of the game, that is, the values and standards of conduct which will be expected of us during the election campaign.

[Sobiecki] What are these rules?

[Bodnar] Among other things, it has been decided that candidates are entitled to use their chosen signs and symbols which indicate their ideological and political orientation or their identification with a given group or milieu.

[Sobiecki] Thus it is possible for a candidate to contend for a seat under the motto "I am an anticommunist," is it not?

[Bodnar] It is possible, but very unlikely, at least in my opinion. After all, a motto like that is of a clearly confrontational nature and would seem to indicate that the candidate's program is equally confrontational. As far as I know, the opposition and Solidarity side will attempt to put up candidates to the Sejm and the Senate who would respect the political realities of our system.

[Sobiecki] This freedom to choose "identification symbols" in the election could lead to an abuse of our national symbols for the purpose of electoral rivalry.

[Bodnar] Ah well, we know that communists and anticommunists alike will all seek a "white-and-red alternative." Therefore no one should be denied the use of our national symbols. Besides, neither culture nor a sense of tact can be ordered by decree.

Another important subject of preelection debate was, to put it in the broadest possible terms, the sensitive question of the standards of deportment in the election contest. Today we can often read such slogans, daubed on walls or placards, as "Walesa-Collaborator," "Dump Miodowicz," or "Bugaj Go Back to School." Once we have adopted the principle of nonconfrontation in the elections, we must not permit the use of this kind of slogan! The slogans we will use in our election campaign must not offend the candidates' personal dignity.

[Sobiecki] Not so long ago there were many cases in which attempts were made to discredit certain persons prominent in opposition circles by recalling the meanderings of their political careers...

[Bodnar] The principle according to which "it matters not whence you come..." is still in force.

But since we are talking about the elections, I should like to mention one other important problem: We are embarking on the election campaign with an antiquated public assembly act which no longer fits the existing social situation.

[Sobiecki] But the electoral law provides for an exemption from the acts' constraints which can be extended to "assemblies of voters organized with the aim of appointing candidates (...) or public gatherings organized as part of electoral campaign programs."

[Bodnar] Unfortunately, this does not prevent the danger of a loose interpretation of these regulations by administrative organs. However, during a debate held at the Namiestnikowski Palace it was decided that practical interpretation of the regulations of the public assembly act should follow the spirit of the roundtable agreements, that is, the spirit of tolerance. So now our main concern is...

[Sobiecki] ... to get the spirit of the roundtable to reach every parish in the country?

[Bodnar] Of course. Especially as my colleagues in the opposition ranks have repeatedly warned me that they would be on the look-out for any cases of the authorities' infringing the consensus on the question of public assembly in order to prove that they are reneging on the agreement that they themselves have signed. I am saying this for a reason: I want to warn officials against possible negative consequences of carrying out their duties too zealously. However, I very much hope that they will not have the opportunity to prove their zeal—or, in other words, I trust that the Ministry of Internal Affairs will issue relevant unequivocal directives in this matter.

[Sobiecki] Obviously, decisions on public assemblies should be obeyed by both sides. However, we have already seen instances of legally organized demonstrations which promote slogans far removed from the spirit of the roundtable. The 10 April Warsaw demonstration which was organized by the Real Policy Movement, among others, could serve as an example here. It was, after all, its participants who called for Alfred Miodowicz to be carted away to a dump and for Ryszard Bugaj to be sent back to school...

[Bodnar] In the first place, interpretation of political slogans is a very individual exercise. Over the next few weeks we may see disagreements and conflicts arising as

a result of this question. Second, in the instance you quoted here it was the adversaries of the roundtable who came out with those slogans.

Incidentally, you touched upon a much broader issue here: the attitude to political extremists, on the part of both the government coalition and the opposition.

[Sobiecki] We sometimes hear the opinion expressed that every participant in the roundtable debate should now "sort out" all the people gathered around him.

[Bodnar] This is a good suggestion and it should be equally binding for both sides. Let me give you an example: It is quite obvious that it would be in the best interests of all circles represented in the Citizens' Committee to reduce to a minimum the influence of such small but noisy little groups as the Confederation for Independent Poland or the Polish Socialist Party-Radical Democracy, if only because some of these anticommunist fundamentalists have been calling for a boycott of the elections, whereas the Committee recognizes that its candidates' best chances lie precisely in a maximum election turnout by all citizens entitled to vote.

On the other hand, however, we cannot endorse the thesis that it is necessary for the state authorities to stand aside voluntarily while the struggle against the opposition hostile to our political system is being waged. I see no reason why we in Poland should not adopt the kind of norms which are universally accepted in the states which we regard as democratic. These norms can be defined very simply: the widest possible range of civil liberties and steadfast and resolute intervention on the part of the state apparatus whenever a transgression of these liberties takes place.

[Sobiecki] The second round of parliamentary elections will be held on 18 June. What happens after that?

[Bodnar] It would be a sorry state of affairs if we were to allow those rules of political interplay which we have been discussing here to lose their binding force. I hope that the readiness to work out a compromise for the sake of our national raison d'etat that was manifest during the roundtable debate will become the rule in the work of the Sejm and the Senate in the next term of office.

[Sobiecki] Thank you for talking to us.

OPZZ's Miodowicz Speaks at News Conference

AU0606152289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 June 89 p 4

[Report signed 'wodz': "Alfred Miodowicz: We Are Working on a New Model of Trade Union Organization"]

[Text] At a news conference at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 1 June, Franciszek Ciemny, press spokesman of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ], said that the Sejm elections have not overshadowed day to day union activity in the factories and our headquarters. On 1 June, the OPZZ Executive Committee considered problems submitted to it by workers and by old-age and invalidity pensioners, he said.

The Executive Committee is pressing the government for a speedy solution of many fundamental matters, so important to working people, matters which have always been postponed indefinitely. Among such matters are the amendment of the law on factory and housing social funds; support for factory vacation funds, which provide the cheapest vacations; the law relating to pension provision for workers and their families; the withdrawal of regulations concerning payment for food at sanatoriums; and concrete government proposals for combatting inflation.

Conscious of the necessity for fundamental economic reform, he stressed, we wish to make clear that we shall oppose any attempts to push the costs of the struggle against inflation solely onto the workers in the state sector and onto old-age and invalidity pensioners. The Executive Committee is demanding full compensation for the effects of price increases.

The OPZZ, he added, is calling on "Solidarity" and other trade unions to cooperate in all the essential spheres important to working people, including the joint negotiation of employment legislation governing health and safety at work, the standard of living, and the quality of life of millions of Poles. We must not allow differences in outlook to undermine the position of working people, and to weaken the effectiveness of the trade union movement, whose prime function is the protection of the interests of the working people. We fully support the 30 May resolution of the Labor Veterans Council relating to the material situation of old age and invalidity pensioners.

Alfred Miodowicz, the leader of the OPZZ and coalition Sejm candidate, replied to numerous questions, among which was one asking whether the OPZZ would be able to maintain the level of its present membership.

We have not noticed, he replied, a marked decline in our membership. The morale of our factory organizations is good. Nevertheless, we are working on a new model of trade unionism and new tactics in the light of the changed forces in the coming parliament.

[Question] Have there been any occurrences of competition between trade unions? The OPZZ has been accused of unjustifiably raising expectations in its struggle against the opposition....

[Miodowicz] In certain factories we already have "Solidarity" as a partner. Whether we have confrontation or cooperation depends solely on the local leadership. There is no longer such a powerful force in existence in

Poland that could produce the sort of strikes as those in 1980. Inflation is the sole source of disaffection among the workers, and the local flare ups which occur are related to inflation.

[Question] Why have you decided to stand as a candidate on the national list?

[Miodowicz] If I had stood as a candidate representing the Lenin Shipyard, people would have said that I had been punished for my insubmissive attitude. In spite of the fact that I am a candidate on the national list, I was able to show the commission that I had collected many thousands of signatures from my supporters. There are already two other candidates representing the Lenin Shipyard and three in a pot would have been decidedly too many.

[Question] Does the OPZZ, defending as it does the interests of the working people, thereby reject the economic program of the government?

[Miodowicz] We fully support the government's program. Matters of adequate food supply, housing, protection of the environment, and I would add, health, have long been part of our own program. However, some people seem to think that the only way out of the crisis is on the backs of the factory workers. Such an approach is not acceptable. We want to see inflation eliminated, but the effort has to be shared equally by all.

[Question] Would you appear again on television with Lech Walesa?

[Miodowicz] Yes, if he were to invite me. I think that now we would have more to say to one another.

[Question] The Western press makes you out to be 'hard-headed' and a 'Stalinist'....

[Miodowicz] It is true that I have difficulties when trying to buy a hat in my size and it turns out to be either too big or too small, but this is a subject for hatmakers rather than politicians. I categorically reject the second allegation.

Jaruzelski Speaks on Importance of Restructuring

18070647 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 25 May 89 p 7

[Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA special correspondent Irina Pirogova in Moscow: "Restructuring Is Important Not Only for Your Country"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] I have met Comrade Jaruzelski twice, in Warsaw and in Moscow. These meetings made it possible for me to ponder the processes of Polish renewal and Soviet restructuring, which are organically intertwined, and which give us cause to expect a new historical stage in the development of Soviet-Polish relations in the environment of developing genuine democracy, which inaugurates a new chapter of socialism.

[Pirogova] Comrade Jaruzelski, what do you think is characteristic at present of the political situation in Poland?

[Jaruzelski] Recently an all-party conference was held—a very important event which should bring favorable results for our party. We are preparing for the elections. At present a very current and essential issue is to reinforce democracy and all the mechanisms thereof so that they will finally allow us to safeguard our country from the crises from our history of which you apparently are also aware. These crises were not the rule. On the contrary, these crises were the result of ignoring the rules of socialism, to which man and his welfare are central. As far as we are concerned, we talked a lot about it, thought about it less, and often did still less. This is exactly why several years ago we faced the necessity of conducting three profound reforms of the state organism, economy, and the party.

The paradox is that the party, which is the initiator of the changes underway, was itself late in restructuring its own methods of work. As early as 1982 I proclaimed the slogan: "The party should be the same, but not the same as before." We had become too accustomed to working "under the umbrella" and being certain of winning all elections automatically. This weakened the ideological and political pulse of party work, reduced the involvement of its members, put party committees to sleep, restricted creative thinking, and hampered bold decisions. The 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee brought about qualitative changes, and the point now is for the party conference to reinforce them.

[Pirogova] Comrade Jaruzelski, as is known, you had to defend your convictions by, as they say, putting the question pointblank: Either your convictions are accepted, or you will resign the post of PZPR Central Committee first secretary. It seems to me, and I have already written about this, that the situation resembled that of Vladimir Ilich Lenin making the decision to accept the Brest Peace. Were you alone? Or did you have like-minded people next to you? Ultimately, your decision was accepted. However, did everyone understand it? What guided you in your persistence under these circumstances? Was it your self-confidence? Or was it recognition of the historic necessity of what was happening? I know that you do not like to dwell on your feelings. Yet, how does a party and state leader feel at a moment like this, when he assumes the entire burden of responsibility?

[Jaruzelski] No, I was not alone. There was a collective; there were people who supported me.

[Pirogova] Yet, the situation was similar?

[Jaruzelski] Both yes and no. Lenin faced a dilemma: The fall of the revolution, or the Brest Peace. We faced another problem: an abrupt deterioration of the situation, the weakening of the bond between the party and the people, and further aggravation of the economic and social problems. It was necessary to overcome this situation, which was complicated and difficult, though it did not immediately endanger the foundations of socialism. This is the first point. Second, it would, perhaps, be proper to take into account the fact that we have already passed through an essential stage of democratization. However, in looking to the future we understood that we should proceed further and more boldly, that we should build a model of democracy that would meet the requirements of the future and, mainly, build mechanisms and structures of state and public life that would make it possible for our society to develop harmoniously. This is a great historical experiment; we might even say it carries a measure of risk. However, this is not the kind of risk akin to jumping into deep water with your eyes closed. Our eyes are open. However, standing still entails a still greater risk, because this means rolling back. The main point is that a majority of the people took a favorable view of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. To my mind, it is most important that the people understand and support us. The party of the working class which serves the people should always take this into account.

[Pirogova] You have devoted your life to the Polish Armed Forces, beginning at an early age. If we judge at present by the public opinion polls, 80 percent of Poles sympathize with the Armed Forces. I am not mistaken, am I?

[Jaruzelski] You are not; you are correct.

[Pirogova] What is the cause of this? Is it just the memory of the Polish Armed Forces liberating the motherland, or are there some other causes? As I see it, the Armed Forces still reflect very graphically the dignity, beauty, and awareness of military honor. To your mind, why do the people like the Army?

[Jaruzelski] You see, there are several reasons. There is a long tradition. It is associated with the fact that, as you know, our people fought for independence for many centuries. The soldier, the army have always been the symbols of this struggle. Certainly, this perception is passed down from one generation to the next.

[Pirogova] Genetically, so to speak?

[Jaruzelski] Yes. The Polish Armed Forces assimilate these traditions. They cherish the traditions associated with the patriotic, progressive self-sacrifice of our people and their struggle for liberation. We preserve these traditions in our army on a daily basis—in the indoctrination of soldiers, the uniform, the ceremonies, and the names of heroes after which military units are named.

[Pirogova] Indeed, the first units of the Polish Armed Forces that came to life in Ryazan in 1943 were named after Kosciuszko and the Heroes of Westerplatte. You began your service in the Dabrowski Division... Col Julian Sokul told our newspaper about this. Whose names are given now to new military formations?

[Jaruzelski] Names of historic national heroes, participants in the guerrilla movement, major military commanders. However, going back to your question, I would like to name the third factor: The bond between our army and the people is very strong. Our army does a great deal for the national economy. It builds, it solves various problems associated with the life of society, and it transfers to society its scientific accomplishments. We have good research facilities, cultural activities, and well-organized health care. For example, on Sundays military physicians go to the villages and examine the people of rural areas. The army maintains direct contacts with schools. Many units are their patrons. Soldiers extend their particular care to children who are orphans. Units set up collective bank accounts for them. In a word, there are very many different forms of activities that bring the army closer to the people. Hence the prestige and the sympathy of the people for the army.

[Pirogova] The issue of "blank spots" is now of concern to all—both to the Poles and to us. The difficult years of your youth in the Altay are also an inalienable part of the fate of those they now refer to as "deported" Poles. Correct me if I am mistaken. If I am not, I would like to ask you what the attitude toward you was on the part of the common Soviet people in the labor collective you ended up in. Did you personally feel any bias on the part of our people who were shouldering a difficult burden, just as you were?

[Jaruzelski] Had I not encountered the humanity of these people, I would certainly not be the friend of the USSR that I am. Indeed, I had to go with my fellow citizens through this entire difficult period—deportation and all that it entailed. However, the attitude toward us was as toward regular people, and frequently as toward friends, for the exact reason that the common Soviet people showed themselves to be genuine internationalists and did not treat us "special resettled persons," as we were then referred to, as something alien and hostile, in a word, foreigners, but rather as people in need of compassion.

It was difficult for all of us. It was also difficult for the Soviet citizens evacuated to Siberia. After all, they had also lost the roof over their heads. Certainly, it was more difficult for us because we had to part with our native land. But, as far as the treatment is concerned, we felt neither hostility nor scorn. I believe this is very important. Incidentally, this is rooted in the past. Many Poles

were exiled to Siberia before the revolution, found their second motherland there, and did much to develop culture and science there! Certainly, the gendarmes and tsarist officials treated them poorly. However, the common people made up for this in the warmth of their souls.

I will refer to a case from my personal history. We lived in an old Siberian home built with thick, almost century-old logs. Two women who were related ran the household there. Unfortunately, I cannot recall their names, but I cherish the memory of them to this day. Both of them lost their husbands, not at the front, but in the camps. However, they carried their heavy burden courageously and did not complain about the injury. Deep down, each woman hoped that her husband would return. Nobleness was the main thing these people had.

[Pirogova] To your mind, to what degree are the Polish renewal and our restructuring interconnected? Are there differences between them?

[Jaruzelski] We view restructuring in the Soviet Union as more than just internal processes underway in your enormous country. They also have tremendous international significance. In this regard, I would like to stress in particular the vigor and insight of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. We see that restructuring and renewal have a lot in common. We say: We must synchronize our watches. This is not to say that every little cog should be the same, but that our watches should move in the same direction. Restructuring has inaugurated a new stage of relations among the socialist countries. The fact that we are proceeding toward the common goal taking our own paths is our joint achievement. This is necessitated by the specific conditions in every country that have emerged historically. This does not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthens mutual respect, friendship, and, ultimately, internationalism.

What do the processes of Polish renewal and Soviet restructuring have in common? I think that we are not clinging convulsively to some doctrine, but approach reality in a realistic and dialectic manner. Man, his welfare, social justice, efficiency, and a sober-minded and responsible approach toward life—these are the principles on which we build our reforms. This is what Marx and Lenin taught.

[Pirogova] At present, one happens to read and hear many statements by Western political scientists that foretell the fall of socialism. Is this not strange? If we take, say, British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, she is guided in matters of state by some truly general human principles: improving the welfare of the workers, wages according to labor input, freedom of creative initiative, abandoning the passive but all-powerful bureaucratic apparatus. Is this to say that while we have been proclaiming all of this in numerous slogans, our opponents have successfully implemented them? Would it not be proper to recall Lenin's advice about learning how to manage the economy from the bourgeoisie? After all, in terms of history its experience of recognizing and carrying out the main laws of economics is older than our socialist, "pioneering" activities. Are we not paying now for neglecting these laws?

[Jaruzelski] At first, I will respond somewhat like the proponent of a dogma. In what sense? In the sense that Mrs Thatcher leads a capitalist state. Private ownership of the means of production is the very foundation of it. It is controlled by major capitalist interests. This is the main difference. However, as far as the forms and methods for solving some problems are concerned, we have made a major mistake by not using everything positive that civilization has created. Sometimes we passed judgment using the principle "all of this is not ours." Of course, we should have taken everything useful and adapted it to our conditions. We should have used it creatively so as to benefit our system. As far as Mrs Thatcher is concerned, we might even say that she resolves issues very harshly in order to secure economic effects. Since economic issues are being resolved successfully, this makes it possible to resolve some social issues as well.

[Pirogova] Could it be that this harshness, completeness of solutions, and the ability to implement them to the end are what we have been lacking for a long time?

[Jaruzelski] Perhaps this is so. You see, a computer is the same under capitalism and under socialism. Parliament, market, and profit are all general human notions and it is necessary to apply them appropriately under our conditions.

[Pirogova] First steps have already been taken in overcoming delusions and stereotyped thinking, in recognizing that our world is the same for all of us, and steps have been taken in the sphere of struggling for peace and the ecological health of the planet, as well as in the sphere of economies of different countries, which are communicating vessels. What do you expect of your people, knowing that the road ahead is not simple or short?

[Jaruzelski] Patience, vigorous labor, and confidence in the future. This is very concise, but this is the main point.

[Pirogova] What do you expect of the Soviet people who, as I most profoundly believe, are not only an immediate neighbor, but also a brother of the Polish people?

[Jaruzelski] I believe that the Soviet people have had, and will continue to have, good feelings toward the Polish people. Of course, I value this highly. I wish them the same as I wish the Poles. I also express the hope that restructuring, which is important not only for the Soviet Union but for all socialist countries and the world at large, will triumph and bring the greatest and most fruitful results.

[Pirogova] Thank you for having found an opportunity to devote your time to SOVETSKAYA KULTURA despite the pressures of your short visit to Moscow. I wish you health and the realization of your boldest plans and hopes.

Siwicki Phone-in on Defense Matters Reported

AU0606151189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jun 89 p 9

[Stanislaw Reperowicz report: "General Florian Siwicki Answers Questions—Defense Needs and Economic Possibilities"]

[Text] The election campaign has increased society's interest in matters of defense, especially in changes to the Army. The most frequent question is: How can one reconcile the need to defend the country with our economic possibilities and society's interests? This issue was discussed by Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, during a 2 and ½ hour phone-in with ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI readers at the offices of this newspaper.

He was asked, among other things, about the final shape of the Armed Forces which are being restructured right now.

We began to reduce the size of our Army as far back as 1987, said Gen Siwicki, in other words well before other countries. We began to do so when a favorable international situation began to take shape in Europe and the danger of armed conflict diminished. We concluded then that one can reduce the Army in terms of quantity, without affecting its quality and defense capability.

First to go were selected air squadrons, which were expensive to maintain but would have been of little use in defending the country. The accumulated experience has been transferred to the other branches of the Armed Forces.

As we know, this process of restructuring is continuing. Defense expenditure so far has been reduced by about 20 percent. By the end of next year, about 50 military units will have been disbanded. The army will have 40,000 less soldiers. Large quantities of armor and technical equipment will be withdrawn and used to bolster the economy.

Priority is being accorded to those branches of the Armed Forces that are essential to defend the country in case of aggression. Such concepts as armored division will slowly disappear from the military vocabulary. The Army will be smaller, and probably more of its personnel will be professional.

Gen Siwicki's interlocutors wanted to know what would happen to the men of the disbanded units and what prospects young officers have.

Just like most units, the units that are being disbanded did not have a complete professional staff complement, Gen Siwicki replied. Their officers, non-commissioned officers, and warrant officers will fill vacancies in units that are being retained. They will also fill the several thousand posts previously held by Reserve Warrant Officer School cadets and civilian college graduates while they were gaining practical military experience. As we know, in the autumn the length of their military training will be reduced from 12 to 5 months.

Reserve warrant officers currently undergoing practical military training following their theory course at the Reserve Warrant Officer School wanted to know if the new shorter period of military training also applies to them.

According to the orders that have been issued, replied Gen Siwicki, reserve warrant officers who were called up last September will be transferred to the reserves on 26 and 27 June, whereas those called later will return to their homes on 29 and 30 August.

Many questions were asked by soldiers undergoing their basic military service, and concerned the planned humanization of army life.

The criteria for defining our Army's defense readiness will be altered on 1 July, said the general, and this will place the free time of professional soldiers in a separate category to the free time of conscripts. In those units that are not on defense duty on any particular day, professional soldiers will be allowed to go home at the end of their training schedule, except for those fulfilling essential duties. The same applies to conscripts who hold leave passes. Daily schedules will be modified, and there will be greater outlay on culture, so that a soldier in barracks may feel at home.

The general was asked whether the length of military service would be reduced from 2 years to 1 and ½ years. That is impossible right now, he replied. Half of those subject to the draft never get called up for various reasons. Most of them are sole breadwinners in their family, private farmers, students, and so on. It would be difficult to cancel the possibility for them to defer their draft in justified cases. It would be easier if the professional cadres of our Army constituted not 30 percent of all Army personnel, but 60 percent, like in some Western armies. However, we do not have enough money or people for that.

Several officers and non-commissioned officers complained that because they are professional soldiers, they cannot obtain passports to visit the West like all other Polish citizens. This issue, explained Gen Siwicki, has still not been cleared up with the Interior Ministry, but nevertheless the reason for this restriction is the very nature of military service, which envisages various formalities, such as obtaining permission from one's superior.

Many requests for personal assistance were passed on to the chiefs of the relevant services. Gen Siwicki said that he would hold a similar phone-in after the election.

Polish-Soviet Theses on Start of World War II

18070648 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 89 Second Edition p 4

["The Eve and Beginning of World War II. Theses Prepared by the Commission of Scientists of the USSR and the PRP on the History of Relations Between the Two Countries"]

[Text] Taking into account the exceptional interest of the public in the origins and beginning of World War II, the significance of objective coverage and interpretation of the lessons of history for reinforcing the peace, and particular timeliness of these issues in conjunction with the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the war events, the Commission of Soviet and Polish Scientists has discussed comprehensively the most topical issues of that period, has coordinated the most important positions, and is submitting them to be released. Naturally, the commission does not regard the statements made below as "the ultimate truth." However, in our opinion, they may provide the foundation for discussions and joint work.

1. Enormous literature with varying content is devoted to the origins and the beginning of World War II. The volume of such literature continues to increase rapidly. Thus, according to the data of the British national bibliography, at present up to 10 books on World War II a week are published or republished in the world in the English language alone. Among other things, it is due to the availability of archival materials on this issue, primarily of German sources, as a result of the utter defeat of Nazi Germany and its allies by the forces of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

On the eve of the seventies, the British archives were opened, and to a much smaller degree, the French ones. Italian archives, as well as those of some other countries which took part in the war, are accessible. Also accessible are Polish archives; however, a substantial part of them was destroyed in the course of military action in the territory of the country. All major states-participants in the war have published collections of documents on the diplomatic activities on the eve of and during World War II: Great Britain and France (beginning in 1939), Italy (beginning in 1940), the Soviet Union, and the United States (beginning in 1941). The overall picture of the origins of World War II and the first weeks of it emerges quite clearly, despite many important documents still having not been introduced into the scientific record (in particular, many Soviet archival materials).

2. It is common knowledge that, from the moment it came to power, Hitler's government adopted the policy of establishing the dominance of Germany on the European continent and in the world arena. Revisionist concepts developed by the Nazis in the twenties envisaged securing a revision of all resolutions of the peace settlement at Versailles as the first stage on this path. Subsequently, the plan called for conquering "the living space" in the east of Europe—the territory of Poland, Baltic area, on Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Russian lands. Remilitarizing the Rhine Zone, and especially the anschluss of Austria were the first steps on this path.

The Munich Agreement (29 September 1938) signed by England, France, Germany, and Italy holds a special place in the genesis of World War II. Ultimately, it brought about the elimination of Czechoslovakia as an independent state, and opened the way to the east for German aggression. This agreement was primarily a result of expansionist designs and demands of Hitlerite Germany, and the policy of concessions to Germany, pursued by London with particular vigor from the fall of 1937 on. Beginning at this time, the policy of Paris was in principle subordinated to the British course. In some aspects of the policy of "appeasing" Germany, France was even prepared to outdo England (see the Ribbentrop-Bonnet Declaration, 6 December 1938).

It must be stressed that the policy of concessions to Germany by Western powers was carried on at the expense of the interests of other countries, in an effort to channel the mounting German expansion to the east on the principle "as far from us as possible." This position was primarily due to the considerations of a class and militarist nature, to banking on a war between Germany and the USSR. For example, a statement by chief of the Department of the League of Nations at the Foreign Office made to Polish diplomat Wszelaki as early as 1935 is known; in it, the English diplomat, "predicting" the results of the policy of "appeasement" (in its later, Austrian and Munich form) stated that the German-Soviet military conflict would be the lesser evil for British policy. However, Poland was on the route of Germany to the USSR.

Thus, the policy of "appeasement" in Europe created a real threat to the Soviet Union: isolation of the USSR in Europe, possibility of a dictate by four powers on the continent, and their unification in a "crusade" against the USSR; a more tangible threat of an armed conflict between the USSR and Germany, and Japan, which was a member of the anti-Comintern pact. Munich made such prospects particularly dangerous. Moreover, the delivery of an ultimatum, and the subsequent annexation of the Czech segment of Tesin Silesia by Poland was viewed by the world community, including the Soviet Union, as the evidence of coordination of Polish and German policies.

Beginning in 1933, the Soviet Union consistently pursued a policy aimed at creating a system of collective security, joint actions with the "Versailles" powers, the thrust of which was to prevent the aggression by Germany and the emerging fascist-militarist bloc. The mounting threat of war invigorated Soviet efforts at

cooperation with England and France on this basis. At the same time, the policy of Poland, based on the principles of so-called "equal distance" from Germany and the USSR, increasingly deviated from this principle. The distance from Moscow grew, and that from Berlin decreased.

In the late twenties and early thirties, a period of Polish-Soviet cooperation was registered (the signing of protocols on the Briand-Kellogg pact taking effect prior to the schedule before the appointed time, the known coincidence of positions at the International Disarmament Conference, signing of the convention on the definition of aggressor, cooperation in the struggle against "the pact of four"), whereas beginning from the mid-1930's, the USSR and Poland held opposite positions on virtually all important problems of the world.

3. The Munich Agreement actually destroyed the hopes of the USSR for implementing the policy of collectively rebuffing German aggression, and made it face the fact of international isolation in the environment of increasing external threat on its borders. Under these circumstances, the position of Poland and Romania became important for the Soviet Union. However, neither Warsaw nor Bucharest were inclined to cooperate with Moscow in the economic or political aspect. Moreover, in September 1938 apprehensions appeared in the Soviet Union that it could come to a German-Polish agreement in the military sphere.

After the Munich Agreement, and especially after the occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, a tendency toward somehow normalizing relations with Germany began to appear in Soviet foreign policy, which was explained by the obvious increase in the potential threat of German aggression against the USSR. The replacement of the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs M.M. Litvinov by V.M. Molotov was one of the manifestations of this tendency.

During these months, Poland became the main objective of aggressive plans and actions by Hitlerite Germany as yet another obstacle on the way toward realizing the hegemonist plans of the Reich. The Polish "no" to the German territorial demands, ultimately stated on 26 March 1939, caused Hitler to make the decision to defeat Poland militarily on 31 March. On 11 April, he signed a directive on preparing a plan for the war against Poland—"plan Weis." According to German concepts, this was to be a local war. For the USSR, it meant a real possibility of German troops arriving on the Soviet border.

Under the circumstances, the issue of the balance of forces in Europe in the event of an outbreak of war acquired vital importance for the Soviet Union. At the same time, a conflict dangerous for the Soviet Union was looming in the Far East, and unjustified repressions by Stalin considerably weakened the Soviet Army, and called its combat readiness into doubt.

In the summer of 1939, political talks were conducted sort of along the three unequal sides of a triangle: Intensive Soviet-British-French, British-German, and German-Soviet negotiations were under way. The first negotiations brought no results not only due to Poland failing to agree to let the Soviet troops pass through the Vilnius and Galicia "corridors" in the event of German aggression in order to rebuff the German armies jointly, but primarily due to England and France not giving real guarantees of creating together with the USSR a system of keeping German aggression in check. Poland soon experienced the consequences of this fully.

There was a crisis of confidence between England and France on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other. The dispatch to Moscow of lower-rank persons by England and France, who did not have sufficient powers, and with a great delay into the bargain, confirmed the belief of the Soviet leadership that the British and French Governments want to expose the Soviet Union to the blow by the German armies without assuming obligations for specific aid.

The British-German talks brought no results, because London did not want to lose its influence on the policy of European countries in exchange for a dubious guarantee of integrity of the British empire, especially after the violation of the Munich Agreement by Germany, and the repudiation of the 1935 maritime agreement.

Thus, the third side of the triangle remained: the aforementioned Soviet-German talks, at which the Reich made a special effort to secure an agreement with the USSR beginning in early August. The available diplomatic documents suggest that the final decision to opt for this variant was made in Moscow on 19 August 1939, without ruling out the possibility of reaching an agreement with England and France "at the last hour." However, the impasse which developed at these talks was not overcome, and on 23 August the USSR signed a non-aggression pact with Germany.

Collections of German diplomatic documents published in the West suggest that a secret additional protocol was a constituent part of the pact. The original of this protocol has not been found in Soviet or other archives. However, the subsequent course of events and diplomatic correspondence provide a basis for the conclusion that in some form an agreement on the spheres of interests of the two countries (approximately along the line of the rivers Pisa, Narew, Vistula, and San) was secured in August 1939. In other words, this was a contractual guarantee of maintaining a line which the German troops were not to cross, which was necessary for the security of the USSR.

The signing of the non-aggression pact with Germany was also significant for the USSR in conjunction with the conflict in the Far East, where in the summer of 1939 Soviet and Mongol troops fought the Japanese aggressor.

The Soviet-German pact weakened the German-Japanese links and the anti-Comintern pact. Among other things, this was a factor in the Japanese calling a truce with the USSR, which was signed on 15 September 1939, as a result of routing the Japanese troops.

4. Germany intended to begin the war on Poland on 26 August. However, at the last moment Hitler canceled the order he had given after receiving from Rome a message saying that Italy was not prepared for war, and was not in a position to support its German ally in the course of it, and a message from London on the signing of a Polish-British treaty on a military alliance. German diplomats undertook new maneuvers in order to prompt Great Britain (and, by this token, France) to reject possible participation in the war. However, these maneuvers were unsuccessful. On 1 September, Germany attacked Poland. Two days later (i.e., on 3 September), Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. However, British and French documents for the spring and summer of 1939 suggest that as early as at that point the two states resolved not to give Poland active military aid. After the beginning of hostilities, Poland fought considerably superior enemy forces alone. According to the concepts of the Anglo-French strategy, the fate of Poland was to be decided only after the ultimate defeat of Germany. Given this, the outcome of the Polish-German war, of its September campaign was predetermined. It was obvious that the fate of Poland also depended on the status of relations between Germany and the USSR.

The USSR closely followed the course of military action in Poland, offering to it material support, which was impossible to render due to the rapid course of events. Undoubtedly, the Soviet Union was interested in strong Polish resistance. However, the course of events showed that such resistance was weakening. In Moscow, they also drew conclusions based on the lack of vigorous actions on the part of France and Great Britain, which was ultimately indicated by the results of the Anglo-French conference in Abbeville, which the Soviet Government could have known about. In view of the rapidly changing situation and the mounting threat of the arrival of German armies on the Soviet-Polish border, and also taking advantage of the opportunity by the treaty dated 23 August 1939, the Soviet Government resolved to extend its protection to the population of Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia.

The march of the Red Army into these lands was received by Polish society with pain, and even caused a hostile reaction. At the same time, the Ukrainian and Belorussian population of the eastern areas of Poland welcomed the Red Army enthusiastically.

As Polish and other sources show, the government of Poland left the territory of the country in the evening of 17 September 1939, and the Supreme Command in the early morning hours of 18 September, 24 hours after the march of the Red Army. At that time, German troops were approximately 170 kilometers away from the point where the Polish authorities crossed the Polish-Romanian border, and the Red Army—approximately 70 kilometers away. A report to Rome from the Italian envoy in Bucharest suggested that the advance of the Red Army in the southern direction was slowed down in order to let the Polish authorities, and a segment of Polish armed forces retreat to Romania.

The course of events associated with the westward advance of the Red Army in September 1939 calls for more detailed historical studies.

On 28 September 1939, the second Soviet-German treaty was signed in Moscow, in which the boundary of the spheres of interest of the two states was partially revised (approximately along the rivers Narew, Bug, and San). In determining this border, the USSR was guided by ethnic principles, and also erected an obstacle to further German advancement to the east. A pertinent map was appended to the treaty.

German documents suggest that three protocols were appended to the treaty, one confidential and two secret ones. The confidential protocol covered the resettlement to Germany of the population of German extraction residing in the sphere of Soviet interests; the first of the two secret protocols set forth more precise boundaries of these spheres, which coincided with ethnic frontiers to a great degree; the second [secret protocol] said that both parties would not tolerate in their territory Polish agitation against the other party.

5. In the process of making and implementing decisions, including those with regard to the treaty of 28 September, the Soviet Government committed serious violations of international legal norms.

First of all, let us note that the treaty of 28 September, which secured the easternmost limit of the advance by the Wehrmacht through obligations assumed by Germany at the state level, was called not only a treaty "on the border," but also "on friendship," which gave cause to talk about the "friendly" relations between the USSR and fascist Germany, actually whitewashed fascism, distorted class principles in social and individual consciousness, and entailed difficult consequences for both Poland and the USSR. The treaty flouted Leninist principles, and struck a blow at the international workers' movement.

On 17 September, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR V. Potemkin handed to Polish ambassador in Moscow V. Grzybowski a note of the Soviet Government which stated that the Polish state had actually ceased to exist.

The above statement contravened the norms of international law, because the occupation of the territory of Poland by German troops could not eliminate the fact of the existence of the state as a subject of international law, recognized by the allies and the neutral states. Besides,

on 17 September Warsaw, the capital of Poland, was still resisting, and the units of Polish army capable of fighting were continuing to offer resistance.

The thesis on the non-existence of the Polish state was publicly repeated by Molotov at the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 31 October 1939. He stated: "We should point to the fact of the military defeat of Poland and the collapse of the Polish state. The ruling circles of Poland boasted a lot about the 'strength' of their state, and the 'might' of their army. However, a short blow by the German army, and subsequently the Red Army, was enough for nothing to be left of this ugly creature of the Treaty of Versailles, which lived off the oppression of non-Polish nationalities."

This was an unlawful statement, which was insulting for Poland, and from which the current Soviet leadership and the scientific community have resolutely dissociated themselves. In addition, it put on the same level, without substantiation, Hitlerite aggression and the actions of the Red Army. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Government abandoned the thesis on the non-existence of the Polish state by signing an alliance agreement with the Polish Government in exile on 30 July 1941, and simultaneously annulling the treaties signed with Hitlerite Germany affecting territorial changes in Poland.

In summation, we should emphasize the just nature of the Polish war against Germany in the fall of 1939. Poland declined German offers of a joint "crusade" to the east, consistently refused to join the "anti-Comintern" pact, and was the first to offer armed resistance to Hitlerite aggressors.

In 1939, Poland was defeated, having received no support from its Western allies. In turn, the Soviet Union fell victim to the Fascist attack in June 1941, and became the main force of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Hard times came for Poland and the USSR. In the years of the war, after 1941, the peoples of the USSR and Poland fought fascism together.

Historians are called upon to carry on the research of this tragic time in order to give a complete answer to the question of how and why World War II began, and what was overlooked in preventing it, in order to help mankind learn from the experience and lessons of history, and do everything possible in order to avoid a new war.

Atrocities Commission Head Kakol Interviewed

AU0606092689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 May 89 p 5

[Interview with Professor Kazimierz Kakol, head of the Main Commission for Investigating Hitlerite Atrocities in Poland, by Zenon Kulej: "It Is Not Only From Today That We Are Investigating Stalinist Atrocities"—place and date not given]

[Text] [Kulej] The war and postwar years of the Polish nation are punctuated by tragic events. These not only compel one to many reflections but also oblige one to act. Such action must be all the more intensive where the tragic event means one is dealing with an atrocity. Today, however, we are not going to concentrate on the fundamental issue for which the Main Commission for Investigating Hitlerite Atrocities in Poland was set up. Over the last few years, it has also investigated other atrocities perpetrated during the war. As a result of the Soviet policy of glasnost and our own process of transformation, one has finally been able to openly talk of Stalinist atrocities.

Before we begin however, could you tell us, what is the actual basis for the commission to investigate Stalinist atrocities?

[Kakol] We have been investigating Stalinist atrocities for some time now, although currently we have a much more favorable political climate, and this will undoubtedly aid the intensification of the investigations. We have met this problem before, namely during the period of collaboration between the NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] and its German counterparts pursuant to the treaty of friendship between the two powers, signed right after the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. Please bear in mind that the geographical responsibility of the commission has for a long time been the boundary of the Polish state as it was on 1 September 1939.

[Kulej] Which means that your area of investigation stretches east beyond the Bug River...

[Kakol] Correct. Our specific local commissions have as their task the investigation of atrocities perpetrated on Poles in the Wilno Region, Polesie, Wolyn, south-east Galicia, and Lwow. This, for example, explains our detailed investigations of the death camp in Koldyczew in Polesie, and the investigation of the murder of the Sisters of Nazareth nuns in Nowogrodek. In accordance with the regulations to which the commission is subject, we have to respect certain time periods. The end of the war did not mean the end of the period of lawlessness, which lasted for many years after peace was established, for example in relation to the people who were deported or imprisoned by the Soviet authorities after the outbreak of war in 1939.

[Kulej] Is one to understand by this that Stalinist and Hitlerite atrocities are to be viewed in the same light?

[Kakol] Of course not. It is impossible to compare one with the other. We must remember that Hitlerite atrocities were a result of a racist philosophy, which had as its aim the wholesale extermination of nations solely on the basis of its mad racist theories. Stalinist atrocities arose under different conditions, and were a violation of Marxist philosophy. The Hitlerites set out above all to destroy other nations, the Stalinists aimed their main thrust at their own people, they hurt the people who believed in the same ideology as they did.

[Kulej] But we are more interested in atrocities perpetrated on Poles....

[Kakol] The position in relation to the investigation of Stalinist atrocities is different to that related to Hitlerite atrocities. As concerns the latter, our knowledge of what happened is almost complete. Of course some matters remain shrouded in mystery. As concerns Stalinist atrocities, the knowledge of these, bitter and crushing as it is, has remained the experience of millions of people. It has not, however, assumed a sufficiently official character. The suppositions and theses of historians are not based, regrettably, on forensic truth which can only be established during the course of contested legal proceedings. They are not so based because they cannot at the present moment be so based...

[Kulej] The National Conference of Party Delegates adopted a firm position related to the removal of the vestiges and consequences of Stalinism from Poland...

[Kakol] This stance brings us nearer to clearing up matters related to Stalinist atrocities perpetrated in Poland by people in power after the war. The conference stated categorically that an inseparable element of the settling of accounts with Stalinist lawlessness must be a clear establishment of responsibility for the unwarranted repressions. The conference also accepted the principle that people who were victims of Stalinist lawlessness, and their families, must be politically and morally rehabilitated, and their memory respected. The conference resolution also speaks of the moral and psychological consequences of Stalinism, the economic and political mechanisms it spawned, and of the evil and criminal aspects of the Stalinist phenomenon.

It is the second aspect which interests me of course, but I would not deny that the second aspect may actually be more important by the nature of its economic implications, which are still very much in existence and whose effects we are still feeling painfully.

[Kulej] Let us concentrate on what is most important to you....

[Kakol] There is still a lot to do. One cannot substitute a formal legal procedure by statements containing even the most detailed experiences. These statements must have the quality of written submissions of evidence. The picture and the extent of the Stalinist atrocities is the subject of study of the joint commission of Polish-Soviet historians. It has become the subject of many press articles, and has assumed a tangible shape in the light of various reminiscences, stories, and analyses by associations of the victims of such repressions. The Council for the Protection of National Memorials has formed a commission whose task is to officially commemorate the victims of these atrocities and repressions. This is a task which is necessary and fulfills the requirements of society. Nevertheless, it is obvious that merely to remember does not make the problem go away.

[Kulej] How can this problem be solved?

[Kakol] It is quite clear that atrocities committed on Poles should be investigated in accordance with the Nuremberg principles, and the United Nations convention which states that regardless of the passage of time, war criminals and wartime mass murderers must be brought to justice. It is also evident that the initiation of criminal proceedings in this matter is the prerogative of the appropriate organs of the Soviet Union. We need to further develop Polish-Soviet cooperation at this time. We anticipate that access to archive material in the possession of the Soviet Union will be very helpful in establishing the historical truth. Some of our proposals have suggested the transfer of certain archive material, currently in the Soviet Union, to Poland. Thus, for example, we have requested that part of the Oswiecim [Auschwitz] archives which the Red Army came across when it was liberating the camp be returned to Poland. These documents are in the Moscow archives.

[Kulej] Let us return to Stalinist atrocities. These took place before, during, and after the war. Will this whole period of time be investigated by the commission?

[Kakol] I am not competent to decide the matter, and I have to refer you to the conference resolution, which states the full position of what we define as Stalinist atrocities. Part of the resolutions are directed to the organs of our authorities. No doubt the Sejm will consider this matter after the elections.

[Kulej] Nevertheless, people want facts, names....

[Kakol] Several names were mentioned in the conference resolution, and no doubt other names will emerge. This will have to be done, as I have indicated, on the basis of investigations and evidence, and not just on the basis of the reminiscences of those were victims. Please remember that the question of settling accounts is overlaid by various political interests. This weapon is double sided, and is as complicated as human life. Many of these guilty people are no longer alive, or are living or staying in the West. Their families, however, are in Poland. The naming of names will also be problematic for certain people in the opposition....

Some party members whom the opposition is desperately trying to link with Stalinism are in a similar situation. The generation which is presently shaping the party has as much in common with Stalinism as the present Democratic Party in the United States has with black slavery.

Ceausescu Receives DPRK Military Delegation

AU0606174289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1656 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/6/1989—President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received on Tuesday, 6 June, Colonel General Yi Pong-won, deputy head of the General Political Directorate of the Korean People's Army, now on a visit to Romania at head of a delegation of party activists of the Korean Army.

A warm friendly salute and wishes of happiness were conveyed on the occasion to President Nicolae Ceausescu from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party [KWP], president of the DPR of Korea, and Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of KWP.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed to Kim Il-song a warm salute and the best wishes of success in socialist construction, in the attainment of the Korean people's loftiest aspiration after the peaceful and independent reunification of the fatherland. Nicolae Ceausescu also conveyed his salute to Kim Chong-il.

Emphasis was placed during the interview on the friendly and cooperative links established between the two parties, countries and peoples, which develop in the spirit of the understandings covenanted at top level. Stress was also laid on the friendly links between the two Armies, which are part of the Romanian-Korean relations as a whole. The wish was also expressed to further work for the manysided development of those links, to the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace.

Opinions were also exchanged on the international situation when emphasis was placed on the need for stepped-up efforts towards halting the arms race and achieving disarmament, nuclear in the first place, towards peacefully, negotiatedly settling all states of tension and conflict in various parts of the globe.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated on that occasion, too, Romania's solidarity with the Korean people's just fight for the peaceful, democratic and independent reunification of the country, with the proposals advanced in this respect by the Korean Workers' Party, by President Kim Il-song.

On behalf of the party and state leadership of the DPR of Korea the guest warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu, the Romanian party and government, all the Romanian people for their support to the Korean people's fight for the attainment of that fundamental aspiration.

The interview was attended by Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defence, secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces.

Iraqi Military Delegation Visits, Holds Talks

AU2605153289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1503 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/5/1989—On Friday, 26 May, Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, received the Iraqi military delegation headed by Brigadier Mohamed T. Mawfek [name as received] which paid a visit to Romania.

During their visit the Iraqi guests had talks at the Ministry of National Defence and the general staff of the patriotic guards at the Central Committee of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], made exchanges of experience at some general staffs and patriotic guards and visited economic and social units as well as places of cultural and touristic interest in Bucharest and Dimbovita and Brasov Counties.

Dascalescu Meets, Talks With Bulgaria's Lukanov

AU0506184789 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 5 Jun 89

[Text] Bucharest, June 5 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, paid a short business visit to Romania. He was received by Mr Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania. They discussed some problems of bilateral economic, business and sci-technical relations. It was pointed out that it is necessary to activate the contacts between departments, firms and organizations of Bulgaria and Romania in order to promote specialization and cooperation, to extend mutual deliveries and improve the discipline in fulfilling mutual agreements.

Mr Andrey Lukanov had also talks with Mr Cornel Pacoste, first deputy prime minister of Romania, on problems connected with the final preparations for the governmental convention on cooperation in the conservation of environment in the zones adjacent to the Bulgaro-Romanian border.

LCY President Pancevski's Message to Ceausescu

AU0606113689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Jun 89 p 5

[Thank You Message from Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium , to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, for greetings on election]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu: I express cordial thanks for your greetings and best wishes on the occasion of my election to the office of president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium.

I take this opportunity to reaffirm the fact that the continuous development of relations between the LCY and the RCP is for benefit of our peoples and in the interest of peace and social progress.

Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium

Balkan Meeting on Industrial Cooperation Opens

AU0706104089 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] The proceedings of a ministerial meeting of the Balkan countries on industrial cooperation and technology transfer began in Bucharest today.

The meeting is attended by delegations from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hellenic Republic, the Republic of Turkey, the SFRY, and the Socialist Republic of Romania. The ambassadors of the Balkan countries in Bucharest are also in the attendance.

At the opening of the proceedings, empowered by the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and on behalf of the Romanian Government, Comrade Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of the government, conveyed warm greetings to the participants, together with best wishes for success to the meeting.

The speaker then emphasized that the meeting is part and parcel of the positive process of developing relations at various levels among the Balkan countries and that it is an opportunity to arrive at understandings designed to raise to a higher level relations of industrial cooperation and technological transfer in the interest of the cause of peace, cooperation, good-neighborliness, and collaboration in the Balkans and in Europe to the benefit of the well-being and progress of the peoples in the Balkan area.

Third Pay Raise for Working People Due 1 Jun

AU0106103089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 1 Jun 89

["New Categories of Working People Benefit from Augmented Pay"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 1/6/1989—As part of the measures of increasing the population's incomes the third stage of the pay raise drive starts on 1 June benefiting another 325,000 people with tariff pays higher than 2,250 lei who work in industrial units of the Ministry of Metal Industry, of the Ministry of Agriculture, in scientific research, technological development, designing and informatics.

Those benefiting from augmented pay accounts at present for roughly 70 percent of the people working in the national economy as a whole. Starting 1 August all working people will have increased remunerations the current pay raise drive, which began in August 1988, being thus concluded. [sentence as received]

The new pay raise does not affect rents, child benefits. The monthly kindergarten fees are to remain unaltered until 31 August. Since the increased pay includes also the compensations for food, thermal energy, natural gas and other fuels, the basis for reckoning additional incomes function of tariff remuneration, pension included, broadens.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 27 May-2 Jun

AU0306144089

[Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English reports the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 27 May-2 June period (time, date of each report given in parentheses):

Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense; Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee (PEC) and secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP); and Vasile Milea, PEC candidate member and minister of national defense, met with Cuban military delegation in Bucharest on 30 May. (1724 GMT 30 May 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu chaired and addressed a State Council Meeting in Bucharest on 30 May. On 2 June President Ceausescu chaired and addressed a PEC meeting in Bucharest. (1747 GMT 2 Jun 89)

PEC member Gheorghe Oprea met with socialist countries' transportation ministers in Bucharest on 2 June. (1801 GMT 2 Jun 89)

PEC candidate member Ion Stoian received a Palestinian students' delegation in Bucharest on 30 May. (1718 GMT 30 May 89)

Bread Prices To Go Up 50 Percent in Montenegro

LD0706102489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1002 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Summary] Titograd, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—Beginning tomorrow, bread prices will be increased by 50 percent. This is the third increase in bread prices in Montenegro in the last 30 days.

Chinese Crisis Prompts Warnings, Public Outcries

Embassy in Beijing Issues Statement

LD0706081489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0645 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Beijing, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Embassy in Beijing warned Yugoslav citizens in Beijing to strictly observe regulations enforced by Chinese official bodies and drew attention to the need for heightened caution.

After the escalation of events in China and increased direct danger to the security and life of our citizens, the embassy decided to evacuate Yugoslav students from various universities and to accommodate them with families of Yugoslav Embassy staff, Yugoslav businessmen and journalists.

With the full understanding and active cooperation of Yugoslav Airlines [JAT], the embassy helped all students, children and some family members, as well as tourists, who wanted to leave China, to depart by a JAT regular flight to Yugoslavia on 5 June.

The latest developments confirm that the action was timely, since the security situation is aggravated further and the supply of basic foods is hindered.

The Yugoslav Embassy also states that the 65 Yugoslavs left in Beijing are carrying out their tasks regularly. The embassy is functioning, Yugoslav journalists are carrying out their work tasks, and it is very difficult for businessmen to establish any contact with Chinese partners.

The embassy is undertaking other security and self-defense measures aimed at protecting the safety of our citizens.

'Worsening' Situation Reported

AU0606122989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 6 June 89

[Text] The situation in the capital city of China is worsening. There have been armed clashes between units of the 27th and 38th Armies along the western approaches to the city. TANJUG reports fierce shooting in this part of the town and mutual showdowns between soldiers at Beijing's Nanyang Airport.

Since no one is able to predict the development of events, rumors are spreading among foreign observers in Beijing about what is happening with the Chinese political and military leaderships. They have not appeared in public for days. Some people think that the Chinese leadership has lost its hold and is not ready to bear responsibility for the most tragic event in recent Chinese history. One explanation is that the leadership is feverishly trying to close ranks with the Army behind the scenes and is preparing itself for the main showdown with what has been called counterrevolutionary forces.

Daily on 'Horrific Massacre'

AU0606125789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jun 89 p 2

[Dusan Simic commentary: "Blood on Tiananmen"]

[Text] How ironic and even cynical the lovely old Chinese names like "The Square of Heavenly Peace" and "The Street of Long Peace" sound at this moment, names for the places where this evening one of the most horrific massacres of unarmed young people in modern times was carried out under the cover of darkness. This also applies to one of the more recent names, of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, whose force was used for a showdown with the dissatisfaction of its own people.

The official terminology of the regime uses old formulas when it speaks about "the handful of bandits who were tying to bring down the socialist order." However, this "handful" on the streets of Beijing and other Chinese towns has numbered hundreds of thousands and sometimes even millions of people. Even by the standards of the huge Chinese population, the dissatisfaction has been exceptionally widespread. This was probably why the showdown was so harsh.

"The night of the bloody massacre on Beijing's Tiananmen Square is one of the bleakest dates in Chinese history. Soldiers killed their countrymen with unprecedented brutality. Rounds from automatic firearms were fired at unarmed students, women, and children. Armored transporters ran over helpless students and people who ran away in panic were shot in the back. The massacre has left the inhabitants of Beijing in a state of shock and fury."

This was the way the correspondent from DPA, the West German agency, reported the events. There were numerous other similar descriptions in yesterday's reports by representatives of the world's press in Beijing.

No amount of rationalization can justify what was done. The intentionally ideologized way of rationalizing matters which the regime is using is obviously fake because this was not a question of defending socialism but of protecting a ruling stratum which is incapable of meeting

the challenges of modern times and is not inclined to share power with the people and give up its privileges, which are particularly repellant in a country with China's poverty.

A socialism which must defend itself from its own people and its most articulate and educated young people with the brutal force of arms is cowardly. The only thing that these events have not yet met with is revulsion. This case also has historic dimensions. The name of socialism has unfortunately been soiled with serious crimes before, especially in the time of Stalin's terror and this is now yet another serious blow to the centuries-long human striving for a society of social justice. This time, this is a bloody stain on the "socialism of Chinese colors" which at one time awakened many hopes even outside the densely populated country.

A cruel sobering-up has come overnight. It seems that even some people whose names have been connected with ideas of reform and opening-up, have not managed to free themselves from the seductive utopia—a seductive utopia in which the self-styled vanguard should "make the people happy" from the top of the sacred pyramid of power, and according to which they have a "historic right" to do this, even against the people's will, using crude force and killing unarmed people, as in cases like this Chinese one where the will of the people has been massively and openly expressed.

The decision to fire at peaceful demonstrators was obviously not made lightly and in a hurry. There was hesitation and obvious clashes in the political and military leaderships. However, now that it has been implemented, it has its own logic and deep, far-reaching consequences for China and, considering its size and influence, for the rest of the world as well.

The question is: Is the bloody night on Tiananmen not another stormy watershed in the new China? Has it not started a new "Long March," this time a march back into new historic backwardness? And in this case will it not cause new uncertainties, tensions, and upsets even outside Chinese borders?

Or, like the example of so many rehabilitations in Eastern Europe, will it soon be established in China that the present casualties and the momentarily defeated were, in fact, those people who were right at the right time when they claimed that there is no real economic reform and progress in China without political reform and opening-up in its political system.

In its wider dimensions, the Chinese example is without a real precedent. Such mass dissatisfaction has never been openly expressed in a country of this social model which, like China, has no stronger external judge standing over it. Nor is there a comparable example of a national power retaliating to such a degree of harsh, open repression. The infamous historical predecessors have either been long and systematic terror or were cases of foreign intervention. Therefore, there is no completely adequate pattern for or easy answer to the question of what else will happen.

Whatever has happened, it is certain that China has many difficult times ahead of it. The predictable reactions of international factors from which China had expected essential capital and technology for its development, shows to what extent the long and painstakingly achieved capital of trust has been destroyed overnight. And this could have an additional price.

For the socialist part of the world and especially those countries who are experiencing the birth pains of establishing institutional democracy, what took place in the deep darkness of the Beijing night conveys one important message. It shows how important it is to continue with the political reforms not only so that the economic ones succeed but above all so that the scenario is avoided of alienated, uncontrolled power again repeating history; so that socialism does not become only a string of causally related tragedies.

Belgrade Students Condemn Violence

LD0706024889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2200 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 6 (TANJUG)—Students of Belgrade University strongly oppose the unprecedented violence of the Chinese Armed Forces against unarmed students and the Chinese people, says a telegram sent by the Presidency of the University Conference of the Belgrade Socialist Youth Federation from its special session today to the Yugoslav public and the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade.

Although we are far in geographical terms, we are nevertheless with you, convinced of your just, deeply patriotic demands for changes in the Chinese society. The humane goals of socialism are common to you and us both, Belgrade students told their Chinese colleagues.

The telegram also demands that the Yugoslav highest state and party organs condemn the treacherous killing of unarmed people in Beijing.

U.S. Military Delegation Ends Visit, Departs

LD0606231589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1520 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 6 (TANJUG)—The relations between the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia and the United States are developing in keeping with good inter-state relations, it was said at a meeting Tuesday between Yugoslav Defence Minister General Veljko Kadijevic and deputy head of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff, General Robert Harris.

General Harris headed a U.S. military delegation which Tuesday ended a visit to the Yugoslav Armed Forces and left Yugoslavia.

The two generals also said that there are conditions for more comprehensive and substantial cooperation in the interest of both countries and of world peace.

Tanzania's Nyerere Arrives in Belgrade on Visit

Received by Pancevski

LD0506162389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 5 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—Julius Nyerere, chairman of the Tanzanian Party of the Revolution, arrived in Belgrade today. The prominent African leader was met at the airport by Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium. Official talks between Pancevski and Nyerere are envisaged for this afternoon and tomorrow Nyerere is expected to meet Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic.

Julius Nyerere, who is the chairman of the South Commission of the Nonaligned Movement, will take part in the work of a scientific-banking meeting which will be held in the next few days in Dubrovnik.

Meets With Drnovsek, Markovic

LD0606231389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1430 GMT 6 Jun 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 6 (TANJUG)—The chairman of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (CCM) and the South-South Commission, Julius K. Nyerere, Tuesday met with Yugoslav Presidency President Janez Drnovsek and Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

Nyerere is in Yugoslavia at the invitation of the World Banking Symposium, which will be held from June 7 through 10 in Dubrovnik.

The Drnovsek-Nyerere talks focused on the efforts of the South-South Commission on reviewing the international economic trends within the framework of relations between the industrialized and developing countries. They also pointed out the need to settle the debt crisis. The forthcoming ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade is expected to focus on the necessity for a more solidary and organized approach of the debtor countries towards the creditors.

The Markovic-Nyerere talks underscored the need to strengthen the technologic and economic cooperation between the developing countries in order to synchronize their approach towards the industrialized countries. It was said that the Nonaligned Movement should be strengthened and modernized. Discussed also was the contribution of the South-South Commission to the preparations for the Belgrade summit.

Nyerere, Pancevski Hold Talks

LD0506202289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 5 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 May (TANJUG)—Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, today held talks with Julius Nyerere, chairman of the Tanzanian Party of the Revolution. In the talks, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and which were also attended by Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee; and other persons, both sides expressed satisfaction with the development of traditionally good cooperation between the LCY and the Tanzanian Party of the Revolution, whose foundations were laid by Tito and Nyerere. It was pointed pointed out that this cooperation represents a significant component in the successful development of the overall relations between our nonaligned and friendly countries.

In the talks, Pancevski informed Nyerere in detail about current economic difficulties and the political situation in our country, as well as about the activities of the LCY in seeking solutions to economic and social problems in the general direction of the overall development of socialist democracy. He spoke in particular about the role and activities of the LCY in initiating, shaping, and realizing social and economic reform and a democratic transformation of the LCY, that is, about the preparations for the extraordinary 14th LCY Congress.

Pancevski also spoke about basic problems of international development and the need for the Nonaligned Movement to adapt to changing world conditions, as well as about some questions of the LCY's international cooperation.

Nyerere spoke about the activities of the Tanzanian Party of the Revolution in developing a socialist society in accordance with specific Tanzanian conditions and reliance on their own forces.

Speaking about trends in South Africa, Nyerere stressed the need for joint action by all progressive and peace-loving forces in order to abolish the system of apartheid which presents the key obstacle for free and independent development of all countries in the region. He also pointed out the need to find new forms of economic and overall cooperation between developing and developed countries.

Following the talks, Pancevski gave a private dinner for Julius Nyerere.

Pancevski Receives DPRK Workers Party Leader

AU0606145289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], has received in Belgrade (Riu Ho-zun), member of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of the DPRK. The two sides have positively assessed the cooperation between the LCY and the Workers Party of Korea.

Markovic on Need for Protection of Environment

LD0406152989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1424 GMT 4 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 4 (TANJUG)—The protection and improvement of the environment in Yugoslavia is a sure investment in the future, our debt to the coming generations, said Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic today, on the 17th anniversary of the first U.N. conference on environment, held in Stockholm.

Markovic also stressed the need for the backing and involvement of science, economy and politics and a far-reaching look ahead.

We must introduce economic relations in this field, since the very absence of them in the use of natural resources led to their pollution and exhaustion, warned Markovic. The elimination, or at least the cutting down for the time being, of all forms of poverty—material, cultural and ecological—is the imperative of the Yugoslav reform, he stressed, adding that economic, political and cultural reform cannot be realized successfully unless the protection and improvement of the environment becomes an integral part of them.

In the year when Yugoslavia hosts the ninth nonaligned summit, it must clearly be said that we see environment in a complex way—as the problem of both the developed and the developing countries.

We urge solutions through a more equal economic order, a more just use of natural resources, through the transfer of knowledge and clean technologies from the developed to the developing countries, concluded the Yugoslav prime minister.

Chamber of Republics Adopts Law on National Bank

LD0206134589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0909 GMT 2 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics of Provinces today adopted the law on the National Bank of Yugoslavia and on a unified monetary business activity of the national banks of the republics and provinces.

According to the new law, the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the national bank of the republics and provinces will act within the framework of the single monetary system. On the basis of proposals of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Assembly will establish the goals and tasks of a joint monetary and foreign exchange policy and a joint basis of the credit policy. The National Bank of Yugoslavia will outline a monetary policy and establish a basis for credit policy in order to secure stability of the domestic currency.

The Council of Governors will decide by majority vote on issues regarding the implementation of a joint monetary and foreign exchange policy; this will enable the bank to work more efficiently and remove possible impediments to successful decisionmaking.

Serbian Assembly Examines Minorities Abroad

AU0606164189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 May 89 p 4

[D. Sverko, S. Popovic report: "Obstacles on Unprofitable Connections"]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 May—The insufficiently active attitude in Serbia to foreign policy and international cooperation must be resolutely overcome. Even the Serbian Assembly has before it a considerably more active attitude in the republic's fullest possible participation in the creation of international policy. Unfortunately this is indicated by certain unpleasant experiences connected with the current spread of quite incorrect, absurd, and slanderous interpretations before the foreign public of what is happening in Kosovo and in the whole of Serbia and in close connection with the constitutional changes with which Serbia attained equality with our other republics. On the other hand, more attention will be paid to the problem of the position of the national minorities of the Serbian people as well as of our other peoples in neighboring countries.

This was stressed by Aleksander Prlja, republican secretary for relations with foreign countries, in his introductory speech at the joint session of of all three chambers of the Serbian Assembly.

Relations with our neighbors are one of the priorities of SFRY foreign policy. Prlja said that we have always accepted and in the future we will continue to offer resolute support to the protection of all their natural rights in talks and relations with neighboring foreign partners on whose territory members of Yugoslav peoples who are not Serbs live. Is there anything more natural than to expect that all Yugoslav foreign policy entities behave in this way even when this is a question of the members of the Serbian people who live outside the Yugoslav borders? The economy of the region of the republic realizes 30 percent of Yugoslav trade with its neighbors.

In relation to Albania, said Prlje, the time had come for us to liberate ourselves from the earlier illusions that our principled behavior was in itself sufficient stimulus for respect for the rights of minorities in this country. We do not even know the exact number of members of our minorities and it is unacceptable that the question of the position of our minorities has not been raised for years. The fact that we are talking about a vast problem is shown by some basic elements of cooperation: the Titograd-Shkoder line is unprofitable, the air route Belgrade-Tirana is also unprofitable and has only now been scrapped. We allowed 680 hectares of our land to be sunk for the construction of the Fierza hydroelectric plant without compensation.

Even traditionally friendly relations with Romania have recently been more burdened with problems. Border trade cooperation is decreasing, the treatment of our citizens while crossing the border is becoming worse and worse, and there are well known problems connected with the exploitation of the Iron Gate hydroelectric power plant. Special bases for strengthening mutual trust should be developed with Bulgaria.

Relations with Hungary are multifarious and constantly on the rise but even in this area it is necessary for us to do more to develop border economic cooperation. Prlja then spoke about relations between the SR of Serbia and Greece and the need for further friendly cooperation with Italy and Austria as well.

In the forthcoming period, it is necessary to invest more effort and finance in order to increase our presence on the cultural and public scenes of this countries, particularly as quite an unfavorable picture of our republic has been created among a part of their public. In this sense, a more aggressive information-propaganda approach is necessary, a struggle for the real truth; especially since the sharp end of Albanian propaganda is directed against the SR of Serbia and Serbs as the main culprits in a drama whose casualties are in fact the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins above all. The lack of an adequate and prompt parrying of Albanian anti-Yugoslav propaganda allowed Albania to partly internationalize the Kosovo problem. In such a situation it is essential to make the destruction of mistaken ideas about Serbia one of the priority tasks of the activities of all Yugoslav diplomatic and consular representations.

In stressing that foreign policy should be freed of ideological blunders and prejudices in the debate on this question, the delegates particularly dealt with the unequal attitude to certain national minorities in the country. Therefore, far more is being said about the position of Carinthian Slovenes and the Croatian national minority than about Serbs in our neighboring countries. Tomislav Bandin stressed that we should have a united stand in the country on the position of the Serbian nationality in Albanian and Romania. Slavoljub Kosaric cited the figure that about 400,000 Hungarians live in Serbia, that is to say Vojvodina, and only 10 percent of Hungarians live in Slovenia and Croatia. This 10 percent of Hungarians have set up a national alliance and now the Hungarians in Vojvodina are also asking for this.

Speaking about refugees from Romania and comparing the attitude toward them with the attitude toward refugees from Albania to whom we give hospitality, the delegate Milos Laban proposed that a special fund be set up for aid to these people.

Ahmed Behadin particularly spoke about the Goranci who are a national minority living in Albania and for whom it is feared that they will be gradually assimilated and will lose their identity. Attention should be paid to them in particular, as well as to the other national minorities. Slavoljub Kosoric stressed that the American experts who are concerned with Yugoslavia and who spoke at the recently held conference in Washington on the subject of "Yugoslav Federalism and Confrontations in Kosovo" were more honest and constructive as regards the question of Kosovo than some of the press from certain of our republics.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The Struggle for the Truth

Various foreign media should not be reproached too much for reporting incorrect information in areas of the international public regarding events in Kosovo and Serbia if various incorrect versions and inventions about circumstances in Serbia are spreading from the country itself and even from the highest Yugoslav forums. Sometimes not even some diplomatic and consular representations are immune to this. How can a part of the press really react when rumors and even cynical assessments are heard from the rostrum of as high a Yugoslav forum as the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, according to which Albanians in our country are in fact second class citizens and the special measures of the SFRY Presidency are for all intents and purposes the only real cause of the present difficulties in Kosovo.

What prevented the absolute truth emerging about the fact that for years and decades foreigners, Albanian citizens were settled on Kosovo and Serbian territory without anyone in Yugoslavia really being aware of it? Or why is it that even this part of the press, which is not premeditatedly malicious, rarely includes details about who is in fact threatened in Kosovo and who is escaping from it? We must also talk about these matters in this Assembly because while the significance and meaning of what is happening are being distorted, then dilemmas in Yugoslavia will also intensify.

To be frank, the habit has developed over time of speaking about Serbia and the Serbian people virtually exclusively and only in the widest Yugoslav context.

Other of our peoples have, in their conduct regarding foreign partners and communities throughout the post-war period, constantly and incessantly stressed their narrower national and republican affiliation, as well as their Yugoslav affiliation.

The elimination of anomalies in our interpretation of the real causes of our crisis will really contribute to strengthening the unity of Yugoslavia, and not the other way around. Just as Serbian representatives in the world cannot be guided only by the interests and views of its narrower republican and national community, any neutral, passivist, and even slanderous conduct by representatives from any part of Yugoslavia toward other countries cannot by any means be accepted anywhere.

We consider that it is essential that the Albanian side be given an aide-memoire as soon as possible which will point out the state of all relations and particularly the position of our minorities. We are sure that a change in this anti-Yugoslav policy from Albania is in the deep interest of our entire region and even of Albania itself.

Croatian Premier Discusses Economic Changes

LD0706064489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2118 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Zagreb, June 6 (TANJUG)—We cannot curb the high growth of inflation and other unfavourable trends by further reducing investment. Quite the opposite, we must find resources for restructuring the production and for a new and more efficacious development and growth of both production and exports, without which the present difficulties cannot be overcome—President of the Executive Council of the Republic of Croatia Antun Milovic told a meeting at the self-managers' club here this evening.

Speaking on the ways of implementing changes in the economic system, Milovic said that the system should be supplemented parallel with the adoption of economic policy measures.

Without waiting for federal government measures, the Republican Executive Council has adopted its own programme of measures, aimed above all at easing the burden on the economy, while channelling the funds obtained in this way into promising investment programmes.

This will not be easy, but I am convinced that we can all gradually start overcoming the difficulties by working more responsibly to implement the reform concepts, said Milovic.

Slovenians Debate Amendments to Constitution

LD0706065289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Ljubljana, June 6 (TANJUG)—Citizens of Slovenia taking part in a public debate on changes to the Constitution of this northern Yugoslav republic expressed a large measure of support to the draft amandment on the Slovenian people's right to self-determination, including the rights to secession and union, the leadership of the republic's Socialist Alliance conference announced on Tuesday.

It is both incomprehensible and ridiculous that some should see this as a proof of Slovenia's alleged separatist tendencies, said Socialist Alliance of Slovenia Vice-President Geza Bacic, commenting on reactions in other parts of the country to the republic's stand on this matter.

Bacic noted that misunderstandings, quarrels, and attempts at outvoting and imposition of one's own stands on the others were growing in Yugoslavia.

He particularly referred to the quarrel between the leaderships of Serbia and Slovenia and the unsuccessful attempt to hold talks on their disagreements.

The Serbian Presidency made talks on this matter conditional on a change in Slovenia's stand on the situation in the Province of Kosovo.

Bacic described the Serbian Presidency's response to the Slovenian initiative as blunt, in the nature of a dictate and ultimatum, with terms which, essentially, meant the Serbian leadership's ultimatum to the other parts of Yugoslavia.

In any case, assessed Bacic, it was essential to build protection of Slovenia's sovereignty into the Constitution of this republic because—he said—the Slovenians are unprepared to live in "any kind of imposed Yugoslavia," where they would be unable to cooperate on an equal footing.

Speakers in the public debate called for the use of the Slovenian language in all federal organs active on the territory of Slovenia and for provisions in the republican Constitution stating that no one, federal organs included, can impose in Slovenia a state of emergency or other measures limiting human rights and freedoms, unless it was previously approved by the republic assembly.

The Constitution of Slovenia is expected to be enacted in July-September this year.

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